

Proceedings of the
Child Conference for
Research and Welfare

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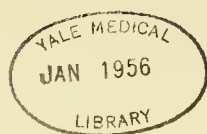
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INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

By PRESIDENT G. STANLEY HALL

Before introducing the first speaker, I would like to make a very brief communication in regard to the work we are trying to do here. It may be divided into four groups: the first is called the Child Study Institute, which is an entirely local affair connected with this university. It will occupy the two upper floors, or the entire new building except the lower floor, and we hope to have it entirely installed at the beginning of the next academic year. The work is represented by Professor Burnham, who stands for school hygiene, and we hope to have a little museum there; Dr. Wilson, our librarian, represents the literary department, and Dr. Smith, under his direction, the correspondence department; Dr. Chase and Dr. O'Connor represent our institute for the investigation of defective and subnormal children, which has been in operation now since the beginning of the year. The effort is to receive any child who desires to come to Worcester and give him a very careful investigation according to the best tests and best apparatus, and prescribe methods of training, diets, operations in some cases, institutions in others. I think that Dr. Chase has investigated about thirty children so far this year. Dr. Tanner conducts, too, a department of experimental didactics; the purpose of this department in the Children's Institute is to determine if possible all the settled conclusions that experimentation has determined with regard to the methods of teaching in the schools. There have been, as you know, on some points a great deal of experimentation, so that experimental pedagogy, or didactics, is a pretty well recognized department, and the purpose there is to get the apparatus, perhaps, to extend the list of things which will make the work of education in the public schools so that we can say distinctly, this is the most economic method of teaching that subject. Then Dr. Magni represents child linguistics, speech defects and the bearings of these conclusions upon the modes of teaching not only the vernacular, but also later modern languages. Mr. Conklin represents Sunday School and religious work for the young; Mr. DeBusk represents eugenics, and Mr. Acher the instruction in sex, and we hope that we shall make of this

eventually, beginning next year, a kind of school of philanthropy. These various departments, ten in all, will be in operation next fall, and constitute a special department of the university.

Then quite distinct from this, another line of work, which may possibly interest you, is a local survey. We do not follow the rubrics of the Pittsburgh Survey exactly, first, because we limited it to children only, to children and youth; but the following investigations already have been conducted here, nearly all this year; first, a study on juvenile delinquency in this city; then a study of the Italian population in this city; a rather careful and thorough-going study on the four or five thousand negroes of this city (I believe the claim is that every single family and every member of every family here has been seen). Then we have a study of the Swedish population, which is rather large here, made by a Swedish student, which was a very careful study. Another of our Ph. D.'s has devoted a year to the problem of motherhood, legitimate and illegitimate, district nursing and midwives, which gives a good account of things in this city. Miss Cochran has devoted a very careful study to the milk question here with a view to making inspection more effective. The city is supplied by 723 different sources for milk; it was a rather difficult problem and we hope in the fall to have a milk convention. Then we have had a study of the sex evil here in the city; a study of delinquent girls, those especially who go to the state home at Lancaster, and those who are on the way, perhaps, to get there. We had a rather extensive study of the Salvation Army, some of the results of which are represented in the map across the hall. We have had a study of what the Protestant churches are doing here for the young, made by Mr. Cooley, and by Mr. Cashen a somewhat similar study of what the Catholic churches in the city are doing for the young.

At the beginning, of course, we had no experience in this kind of work, and we were fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Paul Kellogg and Miss Lattimore, whom the Sage Foundation allowed to come here for several days at different times, to help us have a favorable start. We had first to elaborate our syllabi, to determine just what points should be investigated; but we have now about a dozen of these studies that are complete and on file in the library. These studies go back of the scenes to a great extent. It is rather surprising to us to find how readily the people of Worcester gave us their confidence and how very few reserves they had and I believe that this is partly attributable to the fact that we absolutely refused to go into the muckraking business or to

go into publicity. We simply have these facts. They can be seen only by those whom we deem fit and safe and we think this method has very special advantages in securing co-operation. We deprecate the tendency of certain newspapers and of certain monthly magazines, who immediately when there is any scent of scandal or abuse, send their representatives and work it up in a way to give a city a rather shady reputation. We think that the method of reform can be made a little more effective in other ways, as I have said, without this flaring publicity. This, then, is the second; first the institute, then the survey; these are the only things that are connected with the university.

Now the third line of work that is being done has no connection with the university except that some of us are in the ranks. It is a local movement. There has just been organized a Worcester Conference for Child Welfare, and some of our most prominent and influential citizens, ladies and gentlemen, have joined it. There are six committees, one on health, one on delinquency, one on the milk question, one on playgrounds, one on publicity, and one on amusements, such as nickelodeums and dance-halls, etc. These six committees (the members of which would average twenty people) have had a good many meetings and have done a great deal of excellent work. For instance, the playground committee had a kind of whirlwind campaign a week or two ago which resulted in raising eleven or twelve thousand dollars and in a pretty well equipped system to be opened week after next. And that has, you see, changed the face of things a great deal. We have a wonderful system of parks; that is one of the great sources of pride in this city; but we were rather behindhand in the matter of playgrounds. But these are to be organized on a splendid scale. That is the third group of citizens' committees and we have connected with that something like 150 or more members who enlist and give us their support, and nearly all of them have made contributions, and we are hoping next fall that other lines of work looking toward making Worcester the best place in the world to bring up children in, will be inaugurated.

And fourth and last is this National Conference for Child Research and Welfare. We had a meeting here last year, as most of you know. No less than fifteen sessions, three a day, were held, and the proceedings were printed. There were nearly fifty papers; we had, I think, representatives of twenty-seven different types of child welfare organizations. We hope that we shall be able eventually to effect organizations of a more or less similar character, varying with local needs, in different municipalities. This plan will be presented in one

of the addresses by Dr. Curtis a little later. So it only remains for me to extend to you a most hearty welcome. The mayor, Mayor James Logan, is out of town on a much deserved holiday, and the governor has just sent a regret that he is himself unable to be present, but I can at any rate tell you that the university here and the city is very wide open to you. This city, as you know, is called the heart of the commonwealth; it is because it is very near the centre. If you draw a line through the middle of the state east and west and north and south you will find that Worcester is almost where those two lines meet. So in that sense it is the heart of the commonwealth. I have a sort of feeling myself that it would have been a rather appropriate thing (and I say this although I know a great many of you represent different parties), if we could have introduced to you the ex-president of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt, to give you welcome. He has expressed interest in this work but he was not able to be present to-day. His fitness is seen in the fact that he has called the attention of the country to the problem of the conservation of our national resources, and I am sure that there can be no doubt that of all our national resources which deserve to be preserved, childhood is most precious, because the very best test of any institution, school, church, state, and indeed of all human institutions is what they contribute to make the crops of children as they succeed each other better and to bring them to more complete and perfect maturity. I think the subject which brings this conference together is a topic, the vital, central nature of which is bound ere long to be far more widely appreciated than it has ever been in the past. I think the prospects of movements such as this are extremely favorable, so that I think we can congratulate ourselves that we are rather on the rising wave. I now have great pleasure in introducing to you a lady who had a great deal to do with the organizing of the first conference last year. She has travelled all over this country, visiting institutions for the welfare of childhood and she has also studied in Europe a good deal, and as she was last year the secretary of the conference, there is something especially fit in the fact that she has consented to take the first place upon the programme.

HOME EDUCATION

By L. PEARL BOGGS, PH. D.

"Sociology is the coming science and the family holds the key to it." This is the utterance of Colonel Carroll D. Wright who was one of the pioneers in both theoretical and practical sociology. Another sociologist, Howard, in his scholarly and exhaustive work entitled, "Matrimonial Institutions," has this to say:

Are marriage and the family doomed; or are they capable of adaptation, of reform and development, so as to satisfy the higher material and ethical requirements of advancing generations? Seemingly they are now menaced by serious dangers. Some of them have their origin in the new conditions of a society which is undergoing a swift transition, a mighty transformation, industrially, intellectually, and spiritually; while others, perhaps the more eminent, are incident to the institutions themselves as they have been shaped or warped by bad and false sentiments. Apparently, if there is to be salvation, it must come through the vitalizing, regenerative power of a more efficient moral, physical, and social training of the young. The home and the family must enter into the educational curriculum. Before an adequate sociological programme can be devised the facts must be squarely faced and honestly studied. In the sphere of domestic institutions, even more imperatively than in that of politics or economics, there is need of light and publicity. (Howard, *Matrimonial Institutions*, p. 235, Vol. III.)

Taking my cue from these two quotations I shall try in this brief paper to show a little of what home education implies as a serious subject ranking with the great problems of State, church and school.

There are two forces in the biological field which tend to preserve and improve the human race; namely, the destructive, or, competitive and the cherishing. The force that destroys, whose principle has been formulated in the law of the survival of the fittest, brings about improvement by killing off the unfit either through lack of ability to adapt the organism to the environment of food, shelter, and climate, or by combat with other stronger creatures. The cherishing force implies the advantageous conditions of well-being which comes through

the combination of natural circumstances favorable to some one species or to the protection of individuals by other individuals. This principle had its first partial formulation by John Fiske in the statement that species survived and improved which had a prolonged and protected infancy. To this we add, or a social organization or association.

There are few species in which both forces do not play a part though one usually predominates. Very likely the species in which both are most highly developed show the highest development, as, for example, in the mammals, which is the dominant class of living organisms to-day. Their chief characteristic is the prolonged care of infancy and coupled with this is a prowess which has defeated their weaker competitors in combat, or a skill in obtaining food which has carried them through droughts and famine.

There are likewise two forces existing in the history of the human race analogous to those in the biological world and they centre about two great institutions, the family and the state, or home and society. Primitive peoples have no history so that we cannot say how these two factors were originally related, but since the time of records, the home has stood pre-eminently for the cherishing of the young and for association of individuals for mutual helpfulness, while the groups formed outside of the home have been for the purpose of destroying some force inimical to the home. It is, however, a tribute to the power of the first factor that it is permeating society at present and the idea of brotherhood, borrowed from the family, is forming men into social groups for protective as well as destructive ends.

There are two great "culture" nations or peoples who have profoundly influenced all other peoples with whom they came in intimate contact. Each of these represent one of the two forces just mentioned. I refer to Hebrew and to Græco-Roman peoples. The first had predominating in its ideals the cherishing idea and the perpetuation of the family of its founder. The great hero was Abraham, the father of the nation, to whom it was promised that his seed should multiply and be as the stars in the heavens. Family ties were more to them than landed possessions; and so despite their many wanderings, exiles, and crushing defeats in war, they have persisted as a race or people though without a national government of their own. The laws which Moses and other wise men gave, were laws pertaining to the proper welfare of the people; the virtues which they developed eventually and practised among themselves, are the ones which Christ taught as the great virtues. These Professor Paulsen has denominated as feminine virtues but I desire

rather, to call them the home virtues. His list of these are gentleness, humility, patience, mercy, love, faith, trust. These are the qualities necessary for the proper rearing of the young and for that intimate association which characterizes home as isolated from the larger social groups, as church and state.

The Roman nation on the other hand had a curiously different origin, ascribing it, as legend does, to a band of robbers who united to plunder and destroy, surviving through their renowned prowess. The founder was not cherished in the home of a pious Abraham and Sarah, but was suckled by a she-wolf. Their wives, even, were taken by robbery, and all of their alliances looked to greater power to overcome hostile people by destructive war. The Græco-Roman virtues, justice, wisdom, courage, and temperance, Paulsen calls the masculine virtues, but it seems to me that we might better call them the social or political virtues, since they are the qualities which are useful in competition of all kinds. The Romans as a race died out, the first families or patricians having constantly to be renewed from plebeian and alien stock. As a nation, however, the Romans conquered and held the world by force for a short time, and their influence on statecraft, militarism, courts and commerce is immeasurable. Cæsar and Alexander represented the flower of their development, and Moses and Christ that of the Hebrews.

One may, perhaps, say that the Hebrews grew into the numerical proportion of a nation while preserving the moral virtues and practices of the family among themselves. Entirely different practices prevailed in their intercourse with the Gentiles whom they exterminated if they wished to possess themselves of the Gentile's land, or whom they let alone unless great provocation was offered. Never did they form alliances with the sanction of the best party of the nation, and the amicable parting of Abraham and Lot when trouble arose between their herdsmen is as truly characteristic as is the legendary accounts of Romulus killing his twin brother with his own hand in his own fortress.

The Hebrews treated each other as brothers, and hence their moral law of suasion and trust; the Romans treated each other as strangers and developed a remarkable legal code and method of administering justice, which still prevails substantially in our civil courts. We are not entirely Christianized yet so long as courts, politics and commerce are under the dominance of Roman ideals.

Having in these few pages attempted to show briefly the deep, fundamental difference between the two forces in nature and in history, we come to the concrete problem; which of

the two is the most helpful factor in the present stage of man's development? My position is defined in the introductory quotations, and as Professor Howard says, the home and the family must be studied, and put into the educational curriculum and social programme. The misnamed socialists have brought reproach upon the matter by trying to introduce the principle into society without having given it an approach to an adequate study. We have discussed the two forces from the biological and historical standpoint, but we are now to look at the problem from the psychic standpoint, from the sociological standpoint as influencing human life to-day. To anticipate my conclusion I shall say that what is meant by home education, is education in all those factors which go to make up the psychic force called home, the nourishing element in the process of evolution.

Home education has been carried on for the most part in the home itself especially by the mothers, and the home is far more a product of women's work than of men's. The public education of people in the home virtues has taken place in the Christian church, though few have realized that they were home virtues by growth and so have not applied themselves seriously to the problem of applying them to society, or all life outside the home.

That is a problem requiring the profoundest study. The most enthusiastic effort at applying the results obtained may be seen when we consider the tremendous struggle that all people have gone through in order to establish Christianity as a state religion. To take a code of ethics which had grown up in the midst of a small homegeneous agricultural people and apply it to great nations with vast territories and various tribes with different historical backgrounds, traditions, customs, laws, and ideals is an undertaking which staggers the imagination. That it has succeeded at all, is proof that the Hebrew code is right, and that it is applicable in large degree and perhaps will be entirely so before many centuries.

The compromise between the Hebrew and the Roman ideals was the Roman Catholic Church which has so many of the fundamental ideas of the Roman Empire and its religion bound up with the Christian doctrines. The Romans gave catholicity to the world, the idea of the world being united in one bond and on to this was grafted the Jewish religious belief and moral practice. Christ preached this religion of universal love but the Romans retained many ideas of pomp, rank, and power.

The simpler northern nations had a different problem as they were less under the dominance of Græco-Roman ideals

and hence their simpler creed and organization with greater conformity to the Hebrew moral teaching. In America, we are constantly creating new churches which aim at a closer application of Christ's teaching in all human affairs. Rather oddly it was the Puritan colonists who so entirely separated church and state, not recognizing, perhaps, the fact that one of the great problems is to thoroughly and practically Christianize the state. While the separation was undoubtedly advantageous in many respects yet it doubtless sowed the seed for the indifference to politics which in this generation has seen such a corrupt harvest. The new feature of this century is the way in which the American ministry are leading the church into action in social and political affairs. There is a growing conviction that it avails to bring the Christian or home qualities into all kinds of work for the transforming of evil.

It is significant that wherever they have entered upon the work of society in a large way, they have tried to introduce into its activities and relations, the home and Christian principles. The first great national organization for women, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, set forth in its very inception this aim: "Our aim is to make the world more home-like." Women as teachers have made schools more home-like. They have introduced home principles in to the administration of justice through the establishment of Juvenile Courts and the probation system. In politics they work to remove menaces to home and health. In the Consumers League and trade unions they are striving to Christianize commerce and industry. A few women, we grant there are, who seek to socialize the home. As yet the professions do not seem to be much affected by the home principles. The average lawyer and physician are not as yet vitally touched, and the curious result which one sees on the horizon is that, the nurse and hygienist is threatening to supplant the medical practitioner to a large degree, and the social worker the attorney at law. For example, the Bureau of Hygiene in a large city directs its efforts towards keeping well babies healthy. The Juvenile Protective Association in another large city seeks to remove the environments which are bound to cause crime. Even the minister has a rival in the church worker who trains the children from babyhood and the lost sheep can only be found far from the fold. I have dwelt at such length on the difference between the two factors because this seemed necessary in order to show how our education must change if it is to fulfill the call of the present. Up to this time practically all branches of learning have had to do with the social forces. For example, econom-

ics has dealt largely with production outside the home, little with consumption within the home. Its doctrine of "*laissez faire*" taught that unrestrained competition was best. Even ethical treatises deal with social rather than domestic virtues. Histories treat of war and diplomacy; natural sciences are little taught with regard to their applicability to the true welfare of the human race. America has gone competition mad and the schools have contributed to make it so.

To be sure there are a few books of a scientific nature dealing with the family, but even they are largely anthropological and treat of the family as a unit of society, instead of a more or less independent but parallel institution developing side by side with society. Child Study and constructive philanthropy have contributed something, but that is for the most part available only in higher institutions of learning. Domestic science is striving to study and teach the activities of the home and is broadening out to include home economics. The very small part of the whole subject of home which I have taken for my own research, is the Psychology of Home Life, of which I desire to say a few words, for I believe that the time has come when the home or perihestic will receive its share of attention as women become more interested in higher education.

Wishing to obtain from home-makers themselves some information in regard to their attitude towards the home, I sent out a questionnaire on the developmental value of woman's special work. Owing partly to the length of the questionnaire, and partly to the fact that busy home-makers find writing something of a task, I have received not more than twenty replies, but in conversation with dozens of thoughtful mothers practically the same replies have been received so that my returns stand for, perhaps, a hundred. Practically all answer to the question, "Of what does woman's special work consist?" "Home-making." I submit that it is poor policy to so entirely neglect as we have done in our educational and scientific work, what one-half of the human race thinks is special work and in which the other half are mildly interested to say the least. About three-fourths add to home-making, child rearing, and yet nearly all admit they have no special training for either. Only a very few women say they find housework a means of culture and yet nearly all see great possibilities in home-making if they might have a suitable and adequate training. As a rule those women find the most value in home-making who have taken domestic science or kindergarten courses. Nearly all believe the first three or at least six years of a child's life to be the most im-

portant, from the standpoint of health and morality, and decry their ignorance of this period of human life.

Now the object of this study is to discover whether subjects pertaining to home life may be taught in such a way that shall contribute to the welfare of the family and to the development of the woman in the home so that she shall not find home-making stultifying but broadening, a means of true culture and development which shall lead her to share in making the world more home-like. Domestic science as well as domestic virtues is needed in society as we become more and more interdependent in our way of living.

We are well aware of the difficulties involved in the study of home life, for its secret lies in its lack of conformity to laws such as men must formulate when living in social groups. Justice, equality, and other catch words of society have no meaning, since each member of the family is different in essential respect from others, and what is right for one is unsuitable for another. Sympathy rather than virtue is the cardinal virtue of the home and yet there can be no codes of sympathy as there is of justice. But the home has not only the task of improving itself for the sake of itself but it must be the model from which society draws its greatest lessons. The many organizations which are uniting the men and women of America and the world in common ideals for the good of humanity have for their object the beautifying and rationalizing of home life and the uplift of society through the application of home principles. I cannot but wish that this organization, under whose auspices we are met this morning, might be called the Child and Home Welfare Conference for in the home lies the solution of a happy, healthy childhood.

THE CHILDREN'S CLINIC AT CLARK UNIVERSITY

By HARRY W. CHASE

The Children's Clinic at Clark University embodies an attempt to deal with one phase—the subnormal and defective phase—of the question of the exceptional child. As the clinic is at present constituted, arrangements are made whereby a child who is backward in his school work or is suspected of being mentally deficient can be examined by a physician and a psychologist, both physically and mentally, and diagnosis and recommendations made accordingly.

Actual work in the clinic was begun only the last of January of this year, and so far neither the physician, who is Dr. J. F. O'Connor, of this city, nor the writer, has been able to give his full time to the work. As a result many things are still at loose ends, much remains to be worked out, and you must not expect to find a report of work finished and followed up for a long time. The time since we started has been so short that we have not, of course, been able to follow along our cases for a sufficient length of time to give you the assurance of permanent results; but we have had reports of progress from many of those whom we have seen.

The children who have been brought to the clinic during the four months and a half during which it was open this year, total about thirty, mostly from the ages of eight or nine to thirteen or fourteen. Some of them have been brought from out of town, one or two from points outside of New England. Later, as news of the clinic spread, it has been used by several teachers in town, both those of regular and of special classes, and several times by some. Cases have in some instances been sent us by physicians and at least one has come from a charitable organization.

It is, of course, especially pleasing to us to feel that the idea has met with the approval of the people of Worcester, and we certainly hope that teachers and parents here will continue to avail themselves more and more of whatever we can do for them. Next year, with the writer giving his full time to the work, we expect to be able to carry out many plans which have not so far been feasible.

The examination given by the clinic is, as mentioned above, both physical and mental.

On the physical side, the examination begins with the grandparents; the diseases of which they died, or their age and health if living; were they related, were they given excessively to the use of alcohol, or the use of drugs, were they subject to cancer, consumption, neuralgia, epilepsy, hysteria, insanity, were they below par mentally.

As for the parents, we seek to determine what has been their occupation, especially before the birth of the child, their health and mental condition at the time of conception, the condition of the mother during pregnancy, their habits, diseases, their age at the time of the birth of the child, and so on.

Coming to the patient himself, the conditions of birth are gone into, the diseases of infancy, especially meningitis, convulsions, the infantile fevers; the age at which the child began to walk, talk, grasp things with his hands, coming up to his school history, if there is one. The condition of the other children in the family is also ascertained.

So much is preliminary, and, with the exception of the school record, is carried on by the physician in charge.

The examination of the child in the clinic itself begins with measurements of his height, weight, lung capacity, power of grip with each hand, which are compared with the averages for his age. Head measurements are also taken, and a beginning of blood pressure records has been made.

The child is next tested for motor co-ordinations, such as ability to walk well, stand without much swaying, use his fingers in the manipulation of small objects, and imitate movements made by the examiner. His ability to do such simple acts as tie his shoes, string beads, button and unbutton his own clothing, is taken into account.

His eyes, ears, nose, teeth, throat, reflexes, and anything that seems significant, are examined by the physician.

The psychological tests proper begin with what we might call tests of perception—the perception of color, form (for this latter we use the form board devised by Dr. Goddard), and the perception of size and distance are tested by blocks with different arrangements. His notion of weight is also gone into; there is something wrong with a child of eight or ten years who, when asked to indicate which of two blocks is the heavier, will indicate one without lifting both before he makes his judgment. It is well known that subnormal children are deficient in power of attention. The attention of the children is accordingly tested, its uniformity by the uniform rate at which the child does uniform sections of some simple task like the addition of columns of figures, the striking out of syllables or letters, the rate of tapping, and the like.

In such tasks care is, of course, taken not to continue the effort long enough for fatigue to make any appreciable difference in the results.

Poor memory is not so good an indication of subnormality as defective attention and power of effort. Memory is tested, however, both for concrete and abstract material. For concrete material, it is tested in some such way as by having the child read a short section of some simple story, or reading it to him, if he cannot read, and then seeing how much he retains from the reading. For abstract material, series of numbers may be used; the examiner may give a series to the child and have him repeat them after him. Memory tests may of course be varied so as to distinguish the child's ideational type; whether he does his thinking in terms of visual images, or of auditory-motor images, or in what combination of these; and some things along this line which we hope to use more fully than we have done, may be of value in giving possible reasons for backwardness in the normal child; it may be that he is deficient in some of his mental imagery; and of such a lack his school work ought to take account.

A test which involves memory as well as suggestibility, perception of form and color and many other factors, is the test with pictures which are shown the child, then removed, and the child asked for an account of them. This, as you know, has been worked out to quite an extent in Germany but so far as its application to children go, only general results have been made out. Certain things do, however, stand out. One is that a very young or very stupid child, when shown a picture in which there is considerable action, will mention in his replies no trace of the action of the picture, but only isolated figures, like a man, a boy. As the child gets older he sees action in the picture, and, finally he grasps the relationship of different parts of the situation to each other. Where this power is lacking in the child of ten or twelve it is a good sign that something is wrong. Furthermore, the child, and especially the subnormal child, is very suggestible. He will tell you, if you ask him suggestive questions, all about a dog or a man in the picture that was not there at all. The picture test is thus a good one, as it combines several factors.

The associations of the child are also tested, in the following way. Stimulus words are given to the child and he is told to give the first word he thinks of. The time of his answer is taken, and the word which he gives is noted. Or the programme may be varied by having the child give, say, the opposite of the word given him, or a word which stands for an object which is a part of the one given, and so on. Various

lists of words have been made out for this purpose by investigators both in this country and in Europe—none of them seems entirely satisfactory for our purposes. The importance of this association test, with a well chosen series of words, is that it gives us an insight into the circle of ideas in which the child lives. The child whose interests and ideas concern themselves with out-of-door life will give you an entirely different set of answers to the same words than the child whose interests are those of city life. The answers of the intelligent child will be very different from those of the stupid child; the child who is stupid as regards his school work may reveal other aptitudes which show that we are not dealing with a lack of intelligence.

In addition to the tests just mentioned, we have made use of the series of graded tests worked out by Binet in France. As is known to most of you, Binet has attempted to work out a series of tests for each year from three to thirteen. A child is mentally of the age whose tests he can complete, and the inability of a child to come within reasonable distance mentally of the tests of the year to which he ought to belong shows, of course, mental deficiency. These tests have not been tried out to any extent on normal children in this country, so that we do not know just how closely they correspond to the actual age levels of American children, but we have found them extremely suggestive as points of departure for examination. There are five or six of these tests for each year, from three to thirteen, mostly simple things, designed to test, not what the child has learned in school, but his natural intelligence. Time forbids giving a full description of these tests; we may give one sample, the tests which a seven-year-old child ought to be able to pass. He ought to know at seven, without hesitation and without stopping to count, how many fingers he has on each hand and on both together, he ought to be able to write from copy some simple phrase like "The little Paul," he ought to be able to copy a diamond shown him, his memory for abstract material ought to be sufficiently developed that he can repeat after the examiner a series of five figures, like 4-7-3-9-5-, with one hearing, he ought to be able to describe a picture with some idea of the action which it represents, and he ought to be able to name the common pieces of money, like the nickel, dime, and quarter and penny, and to count thirteen pennies, at least.

It has seemed necessary to run through this descriptive material in order to give you some idea of the work which we are doing; it will make the material more concrete if I illustrate by giving you two or three actual cases. Here is

a case of a distinctly subnormal child which shows well the influence of heredity:

Male, 12 years of age, fairly well developed physically, bad family history, mother white, father colored, and for years an alcoholic, eventually died of alcoholism and consumption; child's maternal grandmother became insane at climacteric and died in asylum, maternal grandfather was a heavy drinker in early days, mother's paternal grandfather was insane and a suicide, mother's maternal great aunt was insane and died in asylum, child's father died at about the time of his birth, child has one brother older, who is about the average in mentality, but he is in the Lyman School for larceny.

Gestation: all during the period of gestation the mother was worried by the alcoholic and sexual excesses of husband, and was frequently subject to his brutality, two months before birth of this child the father returned home drunk and abused wife (he struck her in the face and finally after mistreating her unmercifully, he hurled her across the room where she struck her abdomen against a machine, there she lay helpless for some time), mother worked as washer and ironer till three or four weeks before birth of this child, mother had an aversion to bringing a colored child into the world.

Labor was difficult and instruments were used, mother returned to work four weeks after birth of the child, she nursed him only at night, maternal grandmother fed him on milk during day.

Personal history: child weighed 11 pounds at birth, when two years of age he was struck on head with a broom handle, he became unconscious, vomited and raved for some time, he was sick two weeks at this time, mother believes that he was never the same after this accident, measles at three years of age, whooping cough at nine years, during this he was sick ten weeks and he coughed till he had hemorrhages. Child was nearly two years when he began to crawl, he was between three and four when he began to talk and walk, he has night terrors and often screams out in sleep, enuresis till a few weeks ago.

The woman has had the following children by a second (colored) husband: girl 10 years, girl 8 years, boy 9 years, girl 7 years, boy 4 years, boy 2 years; all of these are living except the boy of four who was a "blue baby," he died about this age.

The boy was characterized as nervous, quick-tempered, forgetful, not too honest, but rather affectionate. He is easily led by older children, but belongs to no regular gang, and rather inclined to solitude. He performs simple duties about the home fairly well. He entered school at the age of eight, and after one year in the first grade, was sent to the special class, where he is in the lowest section. Here he is considered lazy and inattentive, with no particular aptitudes, but a liking for tools and music. The weight of the child was 33 kilos, height 137 cms, height sitting, 74 cms. The grip with the right hand, 15 kilos, with the left 26. The head diameters were 6.3 and 5.6 inches, the head girth 52 cms. Vision and hearing normal. Three tests in replacing the blocks in the form board gave the times, one minute eight seconds, thirty-nine seconds, and thirty-nine seconds respectively. Perception of color, form, size and distance good. Motor co-ordination is also good. With regard to the perception of weight, the child was unable to distinguish weights of six and twelve grams, only lifting one of the offered weights for the most part, and immediately pronouncing that the heaviest. He recognized the difference in length between lines of five and six cms. He copied a square and a diamond, but failed to put the two portions of an oblong together to complete the figure. Asked to describe a picture, he only enumerated details, without a trace of action. His memory was good

only for four place numbers. In tapping in unison with the metronome he was fairly successful, keeping pace well with the different rates. His reaction times averaged 345 sigma, with a mean variation of 135, which is large. Attention poor. Attempts at association tests failed. Mentally the child is of the age of about six years, six years behind his real age. The case is clearly an institutional one, and recommendations were made accordingly.¹

Here is another case, also distinctly subnormal, of a boy fifteen years of age. The family heredity seems fairly good except for one alcoholic grandparent. There was a slight accident during pregnancy, and when the child was born he did not nurse well. He cried for hours at a time, almost constantly until he was six years old. He walked and talked at about the age of a year and a half, had a bad time with his first dentition, was the fifth of seven children, two of whom died, one in infancy of cholera infantum and the other at adolescence of pernicious anæmia. The others are living and normal.

The boy was sent to school for a time at the age of nine, was kept in the first grade less than a year and then sent to the special class. He made little progress there and was taken out and kept at home by his parents. At home he does simple tasks around the house, runs errands, etc. He does not care to play with other children. In appearance the boy was very dull, with his mouth held partly open and a shuffling gait. The ears were large and prominent, and the palate V-shaped. The right eye showed some strabismus. Adenoids had been removed at seven years. The speech was thick and hesitating. I will omit the physical measurements, which show nothing of special interest. In standing with the eyes closed there was marked swaying, and the eyelids trembled in the effort to keep them shut, both significant signs of lack of motor control. In attempting to spread his fingers there was also a marked tremor.

Tests for the perception of color showed that he knew red, blue, green and none of the other colors. His ideas of the relative size of blocks were hazy, and he apparently had no idea of weight, although he told correctly which was the longer of two lines. He was able to write his own first name, but not legibly at all, and he could write no other words. He knew the day of the week, not the month, the day of the month nor the year. He could count to 19 with one or two mistakes and omissions each time, but was not able to count in reverse order. Shown a picture, he gave replies, when asked to describe it, like, "A cat," "A horse and team," but his,

¹Quoted from a previous article by the author in *Ped. Sem.* for April, 1910.

replies showed no trace of action. He had to count the fingers on each hand several times before he was sure of their number. His memory for abstract numbers was fairly good, as he got five place numbers with one hearing. The attention was exceedingly poor and variable, and here again association reaction tests failed. You see that in such cases the higher mental processes are hardly in shape to lend themselves to our tests, and we have to be satisfied with what we can infer from other and simpler tests.

Now to show the difference in the way the normal child reacts to such tests, let me give you a few points from the case of a boy of ten, quite normal, but whose lack of attention in school was rather due to a more intensive interest in other things. The family heredity is good. (There was no abnormal condition during pregnancy, the birth was difficult, instruments being used.) Physical measurements showed nothing of special interest. Shown a picture, he grasped the action which the picture was intended to convey readily. He was asked to read Binet's standardized story of 53 words. There are in this selection nineteen different ideas which it is possible to remember. Of these, he remembered seven, which is about the average for those of nine or ten. Given the three words, Worcester, money, bank, to put into one sentence, which is a test for the ten-year-old child, he said "Worcester has a bank for money." He arranged a series of weights differing from each other by only a small amount in their correct order twice out of three times. He gave, without trouble, the opposites of a list of words like "quick, happy, thick, tall, light, false, poor." Given a list of words and told to give the first word that came into his head he responded intelligently, with a reaction time averaging about three seconds. For example, the word "insect" gave "fly." the word "tadpole" gave "frog," to the word "empty" he responded "cardboard boxes that come with candy in them;" the word "deep" gave the reaction "cave that the boys dug," and so on. It is not very astonishing after that, when the boy's confidence was a little gained, to find that he knew more about the nature and habits of birds and animals than most boys, and that his present ambition was to be a mighty hunter. For his mathematics, in which his ground-work was weak, a special tutor was recommended, and the recommendation carried out. For the rest, his parents were advised not to interfere with his tastes, but to give him pets and help his acquaintance with animals.

Time forbids giving you any more cases. You will see that they naturally fall into two classes, the child who is truly mentally deficient and the child whose backwardness

is due to other reasons than an intellectual defect in itself. It may be due to poor sight or hearing, to an unfavorable home or school environment, to too rapid physical growth, to a lack of individual attention necessitated by the group work of the school class; whatever the cause, the clinic aims to find it where possible and to make the best recommendations in the judgment of the examiners for its removal.

It is in dealing with the subnormal child that we have at once the easiest and the most difficult part of the problem; the easiest to recognize what is best to do, and the hardest to get carried into effect.

We feel that it is for the best interests of the subnormal child himself and for the best interests of society that he should not be allowed to go out freely into the world, but that he should be under some form of care and restraint. The subnormal child, whether his degree of defect be light or severe, belongs in an institution, either a public institution or in some private one, and he ought always to be under some form of restraint, and not merely for a few years, for the condition is, of course, incurable. This course is best for the child himself, for it removes him from a world where he has to meet on unequal terms the competition of his fellows; it is for the child's greatest happiness that he should be placed where he will not be pushed to the wall by competition. And it is for the best interests of society, for the subnormal individual allowed freely to mingle with his fellows is a continual menace to society. It is the imbecile who shows criminal tendencies who fills our jails and reform schools, it is the imbecile and the feeble-minded who crowd into our poorhouses and become burdens on charity. But it is after all as a source of evil heredity that the subnormal individual is most potent for harm. The statement has been made with good evidence that never have two parents who were below par mentally produced a normal child. So long as the subnormal is allowed free range and the right to marry and reproduce his kind we have left unstopped one of the most potent sources of pernicious heredity. When we reflect that there are in this country alone one hundred and fifty thousand subnormals, and that less than ten per cent. of these are under institutional restraint, we get some idea of the magnitude of the problem confronting those who would work for the bettering of the race. The institution with perpetual restraint for all who are affected can alone solve the problem; the special class which has been developed in connection with our public schools is not adequate for the needs of the subnormal child. It only postpones for a few years the inevitable day when the child, with all his potency for evil, is allowed

to go out into the world. The special class ought to be for the backward child who is normal, and not for the subnormal child. It has done a powerful service in arousing public interest in the question, but the lines ought to be drawn more sharply than is the case at present. Probably not much under one per cent. of our school children can be classed as really mentally defective; the public at large has, of course, no idea of the extent of the condition, and in fact the public usually mistakes the higher grades of subnormality for mere oddity or backwardness. You see how the problem branches out into a great social problem, which must be faced and dealt with if the race is to be improved.

I have thus been brought to touch on what ought to be the second function of a department of this sort; the collection and dissemination of knowledge as to the question in hand. The library department has already made a start in the collection of material, and it is hoped soon to put some of this in form which will make it easily accessible. Until public interest is aroused more than is the case at present no radical measures can be taken; and if ever a problem needed to be dealt with radically, it is this one.

I have but a moment in which to touch on the third aspect of the department, that of research. Those who have worked with the problem of the subnormal child from a psychological point of view have come to the conclusion that the intellect which he possesses is not altogether a different thing from that of the normal child, but is like that of a child who is normal, but some years younger than the subnormal. If this point of view is substantiated, it is most important as giving a point of departure for research. Standards ought to be worked out on normal children of different ages; we ought to know what, mentally, the child of a certain age is capable of. When this has been done, we will have standards by which we can measure the intellect of the subnormal child, and classify him on the basis of his intellect. Especially in the higher grades of defect, where it might be hard to tell whether the child was normal but stupid, or really subnormal, will such standards be of immense value. A beginning of this work has been made, as we have mentioned above, by Binet in France. But it may turn out that the intellect of the American child of a given age is on a different level from that of the French child of the same age. Here is a case where we cannot sit down and wait for some French or German investigator to work out standards; they must be worked out in this country, and on American children. With the interest which educators are manifesting in this problem and the gradual introduction of tests for the intellect of

children into the schools, this, to us, seems one of the most crying needs of the present time, if psychology is to help in an adequate way those who are working on the problem of the subnormal child.

Such, then, are the three functions which we hope to fulfill in this department, the function of practical diagnosis and recommendation, the function of research, and the function of aiding in the dissemination of knowledge regarding the condition of subnormality.

BOSTON-1915 AND ITS CHILD WELFARE WORK

By JOHN L. SEWALL

Boston-1915 is a new mechanism embodying a new combination of principles in city-building. Any one who tries to make a bad city good or a good city better will soon find that improvement in conditions of child-life is at the beginning of all progress. Henry Drummond has somewhere said, "The city makes the town; the town makes the village; the village makes the country. He who makes the city makes the world. After all, though men make cities, it is cities that make men. Whether our national life is great or mean, whether our social virtues are mature or stunted, whether our sons are moral or vicious depends upon the city." Because of this truth, city-building, and especially city-rebuilding holds its present commanding place in the thought of earnest men and women; and any recent experiment of this nature arouses interest. If our new bit of mechanism for city-building in Boston is a good piece of machinery, and if the combination of principles which it seeks to put in operation is sound, it ought to be making some contribution to the questions discussed and the ends sought at this gathering. I propose to describe the machinery and its workings, and then to speak of the principles which it is trying to make effective.

For several years citizens of Boston have been meeting a difficulty which is common in all large cities. Individuals and small groups of workers have been trying to do certain things for the city's good which ought to appeal to all, because calculated to benefit all; but these individuals and groups have worked independently of each other, sometimes not even knowing of each other's existence; and neither they nor the city they were trying to help have appreciated the essential unity of their endeavors. On the other hand all the foes of progress and civic betterment have shown a solid front or a secret understanding in opposing these disconnected efforts for better things. Some of these efforts have been along commercial or industrial or political lines; others have been in the sphere of morals or health or education; but all of them have been inspired by the altruistic motive, parts of one campaign for making a better city, a better place in which men and women and children may live and work and play. At last it occurred to one man and a group of his friends to deal with all

these separate problems as parts of one great whole; to concentrate upon them all the combined efforts of all citizens who had come to feel an active interest in any one endeavor; to enlarge the vision of the specialist in one line of effort, and persuade him to give some time and thought and sympathy to the problems of others, and in return to receive new sympathy and new resource for the task upon which he had been working, too often with a consciousness of loneliness and insufficient support.

This ideal was laid before a group of some two hundred business men of Boston, a year ago last March, gathered at a dinner at the Boston City Club. When enthusiastically approved by them it was committed to a group of seventeen men as responsible leaders. They opened a central office, equipped it with salaried workers, became incorporated and furnished financial guarantees for the initial expenses of the movement, and gave the plan publicity through the press and platform. The next need, that of imparting this ideal to the hundreds of thousands of citizens of Boston and the metropolitan district, was met by a unique exposition of city-planning and city-building in the old Art Museum last autumn. Here the local field and the various forces at work in it were strikingly visualized before the gaze of two hundred thousand visitors, whose numbers compelled twice the postponement of the exposition's close. This was a revelation of the varieties of agencies which are even now at work in making a better Boston; but more than that it was a disclosure to many of the workers themselves of unrealized allies.

The bringing together of these exhibits from so many different organizations was followed by a classification of all city-building forces into thirteen working groups. Invitations were sent to each one of some sixteen hundred organizations to send a duly accredited delegate to its appropriate group-conference; and over a thousand of these invitations have been accepted. These conferences one by one met and elected officers and executive committees, to ensure occasional meetings and the discussion of matters in their special spheres; and they also elected from their number directors for the enlarged governing body of Boston-1915. In addition to this provision for delegated organization membership in the movement, opportunity was offered at the exposition and in the weeks following for individuals to enroll themselves as shareholders or contributing members; and between three and four thousand thus connected themselves with the movement, giving sums of one dollar or more to the work. From the shareholders dwelling in Boston and its suburbs, the urban and suburban groups have been organized, each represented

on the directorate by five directors. To these delegated directors, seventy in all, the fifteen remaining incorporators of the movement were added as charter directors, giving a total directorate of eighty-five, meeting monthly. The directors of each group chose one of their number as a member of an executive committee which meets each week; and thus with the executive department working from the central office at 6 Beacon Street a complete organization results, based on delegated representation, where the general public may have a part as shareholders, and where any kind of organization or associated agency may find a place in its appropriate group.

Taking up these thirteen different groups of organizations one by one, and asking their relation to specific efforts for child-welfare, there are four from which we should expect nothing directly; these are the groups representing labor, business, co-operative associations, and city-planning. Three other groups might easily find some work for the child indirectly connected with their specific activities; these are women's clubs, the civic group, and fine and industrial arts. The charities group, the health group, the social settlements connected with the neighborhood welfare group and the religious group will of necessity devote a part of their energies specifically to the child; while the remaining groups, the education section and the societies working with youth may be regarded as pre-eminently, if not exclusively, interested in the child.

In view of the fact that the first of these groups did not complete its organization till last March, and also that the last set of directors, from the religious group, has only just been appointed, this audience will not expect any long list of achievements or even of attempts along the line of child-welfare. There may be set down to the credit of Boston-1915 the boys' games of last summer, in which over 2,700 participants engaged; and a like movement is well under way for the coming months. The most conspicuous success has perhaps been the "saner and safer Fourth," which Boston is attempting this year on a larger scale than has before been tried by any city of its size. Much credit for initiating this plan and pushing it persistently belongs to Dr. David J. Scannell of the Boston School Committee. The peculiar organization of Boston-1915 proved to be exactly the agency through which his efforts found a field for effective exercise. He began by organizing a group of volunteer physicians and surgeons who gave addresses before associations of parents, arousing them to the need of reform from past barbarous methods of celebrating our national holiday. These various conference groups then offered excellent opportunities carrying the agitation

into wider circles, and enlisting new recruits. At a critical point in the legislative campaign for a law forbidding dangerous explosives, the Boston-1915 office was at hand to press the battle and help largely in the victory, whereby an excellent statute has been gained. It was then easy to gather a representative committee of one hundred and fifty citizens, and from this number select a small executive committee, headed by a member of the city council as a special representative of the mayor. The executive agent for this committee has had his headquarters in the office of Boston-1915, and this week the entire force of our own workers is being put at his disposal, in the final arrangements for next Monday's celebration. It is hardly needful to allude to the fact that this work will benefit especially the children of Boston first by saving them from death and injury, and then by giving them large participation in parades and pageants and sports and choruses.

Among other activities of the various conference groups, proposed or actually begun, some directly and others more remotely will benefit the children of the city. All plans and efforts of the health group are sure to include most generously the children of all ages in their beneficent sweep. The construction, location and largest possible use of schoolhouses are subjects now being considered jointly by the education, art, neighborhood welfare, women's clubs and youth groups; and here childhood or youth is the main object of interest and effort. A joint committee from the civic and education groups is taking up the problem of special educational opportunities for the children of newly arrived immigrants, which has been the subject of a noteworthy special report published in *New Boston*. Out of the series of games held last summer and to be repeated next month and during August there is likely to be developed a programme for the systematic physical development of both boys and girls; it is proposed, for example, that there be a serious effort made to teach every boy in Boston to swim, by the year 1915; a plan which is indeed colossal in its proportions, but simple in its execution if only sufficient system and resource are supplied for carrying it into effect.

These are some of the more evident efforts for child welfare during the last two or three months which have been considered by the different conference groups, and on which some progress has been made. But a broader view of the activities of Boston-1915 suggests that in no one of them is there lacking the possibility of better conditions for child life. For many months a special committee on housing conditions laboriously toiled to discover facts, and then to set them forth in a report with discrimination and practical suggestion. The

further steps which are to be taken by that committee will help no one so much as the children, who are the greatest sufferers from tenement house congestion. Even such matters as remedying delays in court procedure and securing compensation for industrial accidents will eventually bless childhood at every stage of their successful progress.

I pass from the description of specific workings of the machinery of Boston-1915 to a discussion of the combination of principles which it incorporates; this combination, rather than any one of the principles, being the distinctive feature of this movement, making it worth the attention of all students of social progress. Combination of forces, in itself, is no novelty; but the formula of Boston-1915 has no exact precedent. The one word which describes the movement, as you can readily see, is co-operation; but it is co-operation with three distinct characteristics. First, it is comprehensive. It has a broad conception of the privilege and obligation of all organized agencies which gather under the shadow of a city's life to consciously attempt something for the strengthening of that life. Hitherto our cities have been the places where men have come to make and display and enjoy money. Henceforth the city must be the place where money, in both its individual and collective holdings, shall be shown its responsibility for making manhood and womanhood. A single illustration of the theory of a comprehensive co-operation may be found in the fact that life and accident insurance companies are asked to send delegates to the health conference, assuming that they are specifically and essentially interested in whatever improves the physical condition and safety of citizens. Boston-1915 links together the material with the spiritual; the commercial with the philanthropic; beauty with utility. It insists upon an absolute democracy in its delegated representation; it brings together the labor union and the employer's association; the citizens of the North End with those of the Back Bay; the descendants of the first families of colonial times with the latest steerage arrivals from southern or central Europe. It assumes that every one who lives in Boston, meaning by Boston the entire metropolitan district, is interested in every other inhabitant to the extent of being willing to co-operate in anything which is of universal benefit. It brings together once a month around the directors' table a body of men and women who are probably more widely diversified as regards nationality, residence, social conditions and occupation than any that ever before came together to counsel and labor for civic welfare; and the fellowship here established is not formal but genuine and productive.

The co-operation manifested in the Boston-1915 move-

ment is constructive as well as comprehensive. The reformer, aiming at the destruction of some evil, and therefore starting with an inevitable antagonism, is doubtless a necessity in our modern life; but this new movement seeks rather to unite individuals and organizations in constructive effort, where the need is plain and universally admitted, where the ground is clear and the materials are at hand. It is likely that Boston-1915 will later have its battles; but if so it will be because some one attacks its constructive efforts and tries to hinder its up-building processes. It has already fought and won one short, sharp and decisive legislative battle of this kind, and it will not shrink from others that may be necessary. Still it is fundamentally true of this movement that the spirit and genius of its co-operation is constructive.

Once more, the co-operation of Boston-1915 seeks to be commensurate with recognized demands, as regards the expenditure of thought, time and money. It believes that if it is worth while to build a city up to its maximum possibilities, it is reasonable and right to pay what the work costs and is really worth. The great trouble with most of our uplifting effort is a curious kinship with the hobo and the professional pauper in our expectation of getting something for nothing. We lay out plans of great value and surpassing attractiveness, and enthusiastically entrust them to committees who are penniless and pre-engaged, and then wonder why, in the language of domestic science, our dough does not rise. Efficiency in the industrial world has been won only by putting in capital before taking out dividends; and it is time to recognize the bearing of that law in efforts for social efficiency. Boston-1915 sees many things it would like to do if it were better equipped with funds, and it hopes to so account for its stewardship thus far as to justify larger resources in the future; but much of the success of the movement has been due to the fact that in its initial stages it appealed both to men of large means, to guarantee some of its first efforts, and also to some thousands of small givers who have put in their lesser gifts to carry along this experiment. Thus far it has been able to command efficient helpers for its special undertakings. Its central office avoids all duplication of effort. Everything that is being done by its co-operating agencies is left untouched; but wherever one of these organizations needs some timely help, it stands ready, according to its ability, to promptly furnish that help for any work which has been approved by the directorate as a whole.

The conservationist of the past few years looks upon the mountain torrent pouring itself in solitude down the lonely canyon, and dreams of its wasted power, transformed and dis-

tributed as light or heat or mechanical force in a city far away. The conservationist of to-morrow—or shall we dare to say of to-day?—looks upon the forces that are potential for social betterment, gathering in ever-increasing quantity in our great centres of population, and has a vision of these forces of money and business sagacity and courage, of knowledge and the zeal for scientific research, of human pity and of the fear and love of God; and is he to fail in making real his vision when the conservationist of merely material forces succeeds? Boston-1915 has done a little toward realizing such a vision of bringing together, transforming and distributing social power. It hopes to do more in turning the potential into the dynamic. Its methods are exceedingly simple; its principles are plain and easily put into practice. It has done something for special lines of child welfare already in its chosen field of labor; it hopes and expects to do more. It has very little to show in a conference like this, in comparison with these who come here, day after day, with full sheaves from long years of toil; but if this brief discussion of its machinery and combination of principles shall inspire the workers of other fields to attempt like co-operation, the moments devoted to this theme will not have been wasted.

THE RELATION OF THE KINDERGARTEN TO CHILD WELFARE

By PATTY S. HILL

This paper will attempt to present the subject from the following points of view.

I. Froebel's conception of the activities and administration of the school in relation to the problems of child welfare in the home and society.

II. The domestic, industrial and social conditions in which the kindergarten arose compared with those to which it had to be adapted when introduced into our large American cities.

III. The ideals and practice of the kindergarten when propagated and supported by philanthropic agencies compared with those emphasized when appeal was made for support as a part of the public school system.

IV. The necessity for a new curriculum in Kindergarten Normal Schools in preparation for leadership in child welfare.

V. A comparison of the opportunities for leadership in child welfare offered by the kindergarten and those offered by the school.

VI. A comparison of the function of the kindergarten in the past with that of the future in the light of the opportunities it offers for child welfare.

While the welfare of the child has been more or less a consciously felt problem in all ages, it is generally acknowledged that this is the children's century. The concentration of population in large cities, the increasing demands for space made by industry and commerce are complicating the problems of decent and wholesome living conditions so rapidly that one wonders what space will be left to meet the needs of growing children in years to come.

But the problem will be solved, is, in fact, being solved in this day. Truly this is the century of the child, for never before has there been such a deep appreciation of the right of every child to the fullest and freest development possible. Also from the standpoint of society we realize as never before that investment in child welfare is the most economical factor in our future civilization.

The kindergarten was one of the first institutions which developed in society its present consciousness of the importance of the early stages of life in relation to later ones, and of the

dependence of social and national welfare upon the conservation of the initiative and welfare of the child and of the individual.

The writings of Froebel, together with the songs, stories, plays, games and other instrumentalities of the kindergarten, give evidence of the close study Froebel made of the child and the activities of the school in relation to the domestic, industrial and social conditions of the period and locality in which he lived. The civilization which surrounded the children of Froebel's period was simple and wholesome indeed as compared with the civilization into which the average American kindergarten child of to-day is born.

While Froebel was a prophet and seer and therefore often saw visions of the attainable, to which the man of the hour was blind, he necessarily reflects both the limitations and possibilities of his period, his experiences and training. He, as from a mountain top, swept, with the eye of the seer, the wide reaches of time and civilization but, from these heights, he could turn to grapple earnestly with the practical problems of child welfare and draw from them solutions which ring true when applied to any period or civilization.

At times Froebel visited and worked for short periods in large cities, but in the main, the kindergarten subject-matter, materials, songs, plays and games reflect a well-nigh ideal domestic, industrial and natural environment as found in the villages and peasant localities of Germany of that day. There were then practically no railroads, mills, factories or foundries bringing in their train the inevitable social and industrial problems such as now confront us.

Can any one doubt the necessity for modification and reconstruction when the kindergarten was transplanted from such a civilization as this to the slums of our large American cities?

Froebel faced problems of child welfare utterly unlike those that you and I are facing to-day, but none the less was it child welfare. He looked into the activities of the school and saw how small a part they played in the life of the child and of society. He saw that this limited round of activities in the school left untouched many of the fundamental impulses and instincts of the child, upon which the furtherance of civilization depends. How to enrich and enlarge the curriculum and the activities of the school so that they might reflect and interpret life; how to provide materials for the stimulation and development of all the impulses and instincts of the child which made for civilization; this was one of the great problems of child welfare in the schools of that day.

With this vision of child nature as something larger, finer and deeper than could be fed by the school curricula of his

period, Froebel began his educational campaign with teachers and parents. He insisted that instruction was a small part of education; that all those things which affect the well-being of the child in the school, in the home and in the street, play a more important part in his life than instruction in the technique of the three Rs, or the ten commandments.

The two fundamental principles underlying his revolutionary conception of education were: first, that the fundamental characteristic of the child, that to which all other aspects of his mind minister, is *activity*; second, that while the child is pouring himself out upon the environment, the environment is, in turn, stimulating and impressing itself upon him with equal force. His war-cry was ever self activity, for he believed that man is educated more by what he does, what he investigates and tests, than by any amount of second-hand information accepted on faith, gained from books, or through any passive methods of instruction.

Froebel was making the plea for the education of the whole child—not just the learning child, but the working and playing child; not only the child who has the impulse to read and write, but the singing, talking, dancing, drawing child—the experimental child who wants to see the wheels go round and wants to have a hand in turning them.

Froebel saw that if these creative impulses of the child were studied, understood and guided, they would serve as the chief motive power in education. Thus the activities, despised by the school as manifestations of total depravity, the source of ill-deportment, and chief hindrance in the learning process, were the very ones chosen by Froebel as the motive power, the child's own contribution to the educative process.

There is a mistaken idea that Froebel stood for the unguided activities of the child. This is not true, as he believed that it is only through adult guidance that these activities find both the ideal materials and the goals which make them a means of mastering the technique of the tested and tried materials of the curriculum and society. Froebel neither underestimated nor neglected the more formal aspects of the curriculum, but he saw them as parts of a larger whole, including other activities which reinforced, deepened and enriched these and placed them on a self active basis.

This led to the introduction of manual training, art, music gardens, excursion and nature work, and turned the schools from mere recitation rooms into work shops, studios, laboratories, etc.

While Froebel emphasized self-activity as the fundamental characteristic of the child, that in which all the others find

their function, he never lost sight of the assimilative and absorptive aspects of mind.

Even on the biological plane, he planned plays and games for the senses as well as the muscles. He thus emphasized the relation and function of sense impressions in self expression; he saw the materials of sense impression as the necessary stimuli to self expression and that everybody's self expression became somebody's suggestive sense stimulus, calling forth responses good or bad.

Therefore Froebel says that the child is truly called a "suckling" for he is drinking in through every sense and through the absorptive and assimilative functions of the mind the suggestions from his environment which stimulate responses for good or evil.

For this reason, Froebel claims for the child the best possible environment both natural and social, and demanded as a prime requisite for genuine mental and moral stimulus, character and personality in teachers and parents. To Froebel, personality and character were far more fundamental than information or knowledge.

Clean, light and beautiful rooms were important, but teachers of culture, refinement, nobility and honor were even more so. Froebel believed that children unconsciously absorb and gradually come to realize the importance of our unspoken thoughts and feeling. He gives this suggestion to mothers:

"For thyself in all thy works take care
That every act the highest meaning bear;
Believe that by the good that's in thy mind
Thy child to good will early be inclined;
By every noble thought with which thy heart is fired
The child's young soul will surely be inspired."

This is a very uncomfortable doctrine and sounds rather mystic, as our psychological knowledge of the exact processes by which the child comes to feel and read our hidden motives is not yet fully understood; but it is a commonplace in our daily intercourse with little children that they easily learn to read the inner meanings of human expression and get their cues to action from the permissions and refusals, the approval and disapproval which we are unconsciously expressing. They may not be weather-wise, or able to read their answers in the stars, but they know when they amuse or grieve, when they are a source of joy or irritation, when we mean what we say, when our acts belie the spirit, and when kindly intent lies back of severe correction. They *must* learn this in order to survive, for the fate of all their little plans and purposes hangs thereon. From these conscious and unconscious adult expressions children frame their earliest and most

elemental conceptions of right and wrong, their idea of honor, nobility, and the ethics of social relations more effectively than through any mode of abstract instruction. Though Froebel was among the first to insist upon the right of the child to good pictures, good music, clean and artistic nurseries and schoolrooms, the need to him of social intercourse with adults who embodied the moral law in character was far more imperative. These are as much matters of child welfare as the problems of food, clothing and shelter. While "personality" and "atmosphere" have been fearfully over-worked terms, they stand for all those intangible forces in education which are more subtle and effective than direct and conscious influences.

We are educated by the contagious forces good and evil, enthusiasm and righteousness being fully as communicable as indifference and evil.

With this emphasis upon the educational influences of surroundings or environment it does not surprise us to find the pioneer kindergartners struggling with the problems of child welfare long before other departments of the school were conscious of any responsibility in the matter.

There are several reasons for the early consciousness of child welfare in the kindergarten. First and foremost, because of Froebel's emphasis upon the fact that life educates more than books, example more than instruction; that surroundings are but the materials of suggestion and realization, of stimulus and response.

It might be granted that while the problems of living in Froebel's day and locality were few and simple he saw and stated the educational and social principles underlying the welfare problem which would later have overwhelmed or been overlooked by kindergartners had they not been prepared with a philosophy of life which revealed their significance and the principles of solution.

In the second place, this very fact leads to an early appreciation of the kindergarten as a philanthropic rather than as an educational factor. With this emphasis upon the educational influence of the intangible and the environmental with their suggestions and stimuli to action and habit it was not surprising that kindergartens should be provided, first, for those children who had the greatest need for better surroundings.

So most of the pioneer kindergartens were opened in the slums of our largest cities, as the most hopeful method of regeneration and reform. This forced upon the consciousness of the kindergartner the problems of child welfare in their darkest aspects and she could not fail to see that something

more than the few hours in kindergarten or school would be necessary to counteract the opposing influences in the surroundings of the homes and neighborhoods.

In the third place, Froebel had already instituted this counter-active influence by his efforts to educate mothers and nurses as the most effective agencies in the child's home environment. He saw that the good influences of the kindergarten and school would be more than doubled if teachers and parents united in providing the best surroundings and influences in the home and the school. Parents and teachers must co-operate, the home and school must unite in the welfare of the child.

Froebel had two principles in mind in instituting this work with parents, or rather he saw the double aspect of this one principle, namely, that not only are children saved by parents but that parents are saved by children. If teachers and parents unite in their efforts to surround the child with the same ideals in the home and school, the child cannot well escape. On the other hand, the helplessness, inexperience and dependence of the child upon the parents' knowledge and their provision of these standards stimulates the development of the parent as no other method of education can. The child was seen not only as the most valuable asset for future civilization, but as an unconscious remedial agent in present civilization. When parents are educated through the study and provision of all that makes for child betterment at any cost to themselves, they possess, or rather have won a wisdom and learning which results more profitably to their own welfare than even to that of the child.

In the fourth place, kindergartens were opened at that period in our history when democracy was coming to the first consciousness of its tremendous problems.

The hordes of foreigners, entering our ports, together with the first generation born in American slums were bringing to our realization the fact that scientifically, at least, all men are not born free and equal, and that if this divine equalization of opportunity was ever to be realized there must be intelligent and persistent effort and consecration on the part of the more fortunate in levelling these inequalities.

Thus the kindergarten came into America when democracy was beginning to realize that if her dreams were ever to come true, they must be wrought into actuality through science as well as faith, through knowledge as well as intuition, through intelligence as well as consecration.

Following the enthusiasm of this philanthropic period, when the kindergartners and the boards who supported them, sincerely believed that the kindergarten, like a cure-all, would

solve all economic problems, came a struggle for financial support. There was one solution only, the boards of education must adopt the kindergarten and make it part of the educational system.

It is interesting to note the differences in the appeals made to philanthropic and, more strictly speaking, educational boards at this time. The emphasis had to be shifted from the philanthropic to the educational if boards of education were to be reached by the appeal.

At once kindergartners began to assert their faith in the fact that kindergarten was a part of education for *all* children of *all* classes irrespective of birth, home advantages, etc.; that all children need association with other children for the social co-operation in the wholesome occupations of work and play; that all children need the educational opportunity for employment of the creative and constructive impulses with selected materials; that all children need the intellectual and emotional stimulus from song, story, etc.

Unfortunately, not only the appeal but the actual practice of the kindergarten now began to change; more emphasis was placed upon the technique—especially the gifts and occupations, and child welfare with its attention to the all-round care of the child began to fall into the background. Geometric knowledge, and the more artistic and accurate results in manual dexterity, were cultivated and published abroad as most helpful in preparation for entrance into the grades.

There were two reasons for this. In the first place, this was due to the class of children for whom the kindergarten now made its appeal. The well-dressed, well-fed and well-housed children then entering the kindergarten had no visible need of the type of care formerly bestowed upon the children of the slums. In the second place, as the kindergarten went into the public schools largely on the probation basis, this made survival depend on taking on certain aspects of the school in discipline, definite instruction, and accurate results.

The kindergarten as an educational system demanding space for the activities of work and play then had to adapt itself to small schoolrooms built to meet the ideals of the schools of the period. The activities involved in the mastery of the technique of the three R's required very little space; but if the educational instrumentalities include games, dances and marching, workshops, gardens, etc.,—larger space immediately becomes a necessity.

For this reason a kindergarten, placed in a room planned to meet the needs of the primary schools of that period, was something of a misfit which frequently resulted in cutting down the activities of the kindergarten to fit the limited space

and equally limited ideals of the curriculum and activities of the grades.

In the second place the Hegelian influence which so largely shaped the early history of the kindergarten in America, affected then, as it does now, the attitude of the kindergartners toward the contributions of sciences which necessarily demand some reconstruction of the philosophy and practice of the kindergarten. This Hegelian influence might have easily overwhelmed the kindergarten, had the problem of child welfare not asserted its equal demand for the study of all those causes and conditions inhibiting the physical and mental growth of the children in the care of these pioneer kindergartens.

To-day the ideals of education are tending to emphasize the necessity for the type of welfare work which was originally initiated by these early kindergartens.

For this reason, there will be an increasing demand for kindergartners who have received more scientific training in the study and methods of modern social welfare, if they are to carry forward and improve the welfare work initiated and executed under the influences of idealism, before there were any tested scientific data upon which to base educational or social work.

Now that there are highly trained specialists who can forward this philanthropic work more scientifically, what relation should the kindergarten establish with the home and the family in the future? This question should be answered in the light of the special opportunities which the kindergarten offers for contact with the home, or the parents.

A study of the kindergarten seems to reveal several unique opportunities for furthering child-welfare work, which no other department of education can realize, thus placing the kindergartner under a peculiar obligation to prepare herself to take advantage of these opportunities to further knowledge along this line. First, she has the care of the children at a period when physical care yields the richest results, and when knowledge of all the causes and conditions of arrested development may alleviate or prevent results which prove to be hopeless later. Medical inspectors and school nurses may have deeper insight and training in these matters, but unless the kindergartner has some general knowledge in common with them, they cannot meet their obligations with success.

In the second place, the inexperience and helplessness of children at the kindergarten age necessitate more frequent meetings with parents or older members of the family. The very fact that the child is often too young to come and go alone brings parents to the kindergarten door and a friendly

bond is therefore established between parents and teachers, ministering greatly to the child's good in both the kindergarten and the home.

In the third place, the kindergartner has been educated from the very beginning of our history to consider her obligation to the parents and the home as an organic part of her duty as an educator.

While the work with parents has often been conducted with scant sociological preparation and on a sentimental plane, it must be remembered that the kindergartners were the first teachers to realize their obligation to double the value of their work with children through the education of parents.

However, if the kindergartner is to realize these opportunities, the school principals and superintendents must recognize the importance of this as an organic part of her work—not as an extraneous bit of duty to be added to an already overloaded day's service in the kindergarten.

If this provision of time and opportunity is offered by superintendents and principals in the shorter hours of service in the kindergarten, then the curriculum of the kindergarten normal course should provide more adequate training in child welfare.

The normal courses should offer more scientific training in child study, personal, home and school hygiene, and sufficient sociological knowledge in modern methods of promoting child and social welfare to be able to advise parents as to specialists who are prepared to present more scientific solutions than those which she can offer.

A commendable but unwise enthusiasm often betrays the inexperienced kindergartner into the mistake of assuming duties for herself and the kindergarten which legitimately belong to the mother and the home. The passionate devotion of the kindergartner to the welfare of the child, often blinds her to the disastrous results which follow when one individual or institution attempts to fulfill obligations which should be met by others. She, having ever the welfare of the child in mind, does not see that when she overloads herself and the kindergarten with duties which should be assumed by others, she not only robs these other individuals of the development which the fulfillment of this duty involves, but also necessarily neglects the specific responsibilities of the teacher and the school.

The term "child welfare" covers too large a field of knowledge for any one person to hope to cover it, but kindergartners cannot meet the opportunities and obligations of their office without better training in the methods of investigation and the results of work along this line. Not only will she be able

to offer wiser advice to parents, but she will also, in planning courses of study or lectures for parents, be prepared to turn to the specialists who will co-operate with her in presenting the best solutions of the problems under discussion.

After all just criticism has been made, it should be said, to the credit of the kindergarten, that the best work done in our schools along these lines has been contributed by this institution.

As I glance over programmes of the mothers' and parents' clubs in connection with the kindergartens in various cities, I find the following subjects presented to the parents, often by noted specialists, with the use of stereopticon and other methods of demonstration.

I The hygienic and curative effects of open air,

- (a) Ventilation in schools and homes.
- (b) Uses of roofs, gardens and yards in school and home.
- (c) Open air schools.
- (d) Use of parks, play-grounds, recreation piers and floating hospitals.
- (e) Prevention and cure of tuberculosis.
- (f) Nature work and excursions in school.

II Problems of food,

- (a) Proper care of milk in dairies and homes.
- (b) Proper use and care of drinking water.
- (c) Qualities and differences in requirement of good food for child and adult.
- (d) Selection, preparation and care of food in the processes of manufacture, in stores and in homes.
- (e) Proper mastication of food.

III Problems of clothing.

- (a) Artistic.
- (b) Hygienic (winter and summer).
- (c) Ethical.
- (d) Industrial.
- (f) Effects of ill-fitting clothes and shoes.

IV. Hygiene and nursing.

- (a) Food for infants.
- (b) Food for the sick or invalid.
- (c) Care of the sick in homes and hospitals.
- (d) Care of contagious and infectious diseases.
- (e) Care of eyes, ears, teeth, etc.
- (f) Hygienic habits.
- (g) Hygiene of bathing.

V. Hygiene and sanitation in homes.

- (a) Building and fire laws.
- (b) Disposal of garbage in home and street.
- (c) Care of plumbing.
- (d) Protection from insects, flies, mosquitoes.

VI. Home economy.

- (a) Wages in relation to expenditure and savings.
- (b) Renting and ownership of homes.
- (c) Savings banks (adults and children).
- (d) Allowances for wives and children.

VI. Home economy.

- (e) Wise and unwise methods of increasing family income with mother and children in home.
- (f) Sweat-shop work with its dangers to producer and consumer.
- (g) Child labor laws and their effects.
- (h) Right and wrong use of day nurseries.

VII. Use and abuse of recreation and amusements.

- (a) Effects of right and wrong amusement on morality and health.
- (b) Recreation for children, youths and adults.
- (c) Good and poor toys.
- (d) Good and poor games.

VIII. Good or ill effects of literature, music and art.

- (a) Telling stories in homes and schools.
- (b) Music in home and school.
- (c) Pictures in homes, schools, and art galleries.
- (d) Use of public libraries.
- (e) Public concerts.

IX. Relation of rights and responsibilities in democratic government: True meaning of a democracy.

- (a) Duties and privileges in use of parks, play-grounds, libraries, art galleries, public concerts, lectures and schools.
- (b) Necessity—for enriching American life by preserving and perpetuating the best customs and traditions of all races, nations and religions either native to America or brought over from the old world.
- (c) Respect for differences in traditions, customs and creeds.
- (d) Holidays, festivals, etc., celebrated by different races and religions.
- (e) Holidays sacred to America with their peculiar meaning:—Thanksgiving Day, George Washington's Birthday, Fourth of July, Labor Day, etc.
- (f) Characteristic differences in folk music, games, songs, and dances, hand-work and industries of all races and nations.
- (g) Flags and emblems of all races and nations, with their significance.

X. Right of Children to religious training and moral instruction.

- (a) Dangers in a democracy.
- (b) Comparative values of religious instruction in homes, schools and churches.
- (c) Presentation of sex problems by parents and teachers.
- (d) Ethics of punishment and correction.
- (e) Ethics of industry and vocations.

This does not by any means exhaust the list but will give some evidence of the child-welfare intelligence which the kindergarten is spreading among parents and in society.

The kindergarten must plead guilty to doing many things it should not have done, and of leaving undone those things it should have done. It has claimed moral and intellectual results which a sane, scientific investigation would fail to verify; it has frequently ignored the contributions from the sciences, genetic psychology, child study and sociology which demand a sane modification and reconstruction of its philosophy and practical procedure; it has been self-satisfied and wor-

shipped the letter of Froebel when the spirit would have given life; it has cultivated followers of Froebel rather than students and critics of Froebel; it has held itself aloof from the elementary school with a trying spirit of superiority; it has frequently resented fair and wise criticism; but in contrast to all this, it has consecrated itself to the nurture of the child, the family and the home, and wherever it has gone with its gospel of childhood, a new attitude toward child life has followed, leading to the establishment of other institutions for child-betterment, such as play grounds, social settlements, etc.

There is something difficult to explain in the zeal of the kindergartner, the enthusiasm, devotion and consecration to all those forces and influences which make for the welfare of the child. Why should she travel to the ends of the earth with her message, why should she give hours of her time to visiting in the homes and working for more sympathetic and intelligent parenthood; why has she done all of this for a bare living salary when she could have entered other grades of teaching with their higher remuneration and respect? There seems to be but one answer—that back of it lies a large, inspiring philosophy of life which makes all this labor seem worth while. The kindergartner needs the ability to face squarely the facts of life which seem to run contrary to her idealistic philosophy. She does not need less idealism, but an idealistic interpretation of facts, tested and tried by the scientific methods of experiment, research and investigation. She must learn that there is a sacredness of facts as well as of interpretation, and that any idealism which ignores them is unsafe as a generalization or as a source of inspiration.

If the kindergarten can hold to its noblest and best, while willingly eliminating the dross, the regenerated kindergarten will play an *increasingly important rôle* in a great democracy. Democracy itself is the most idealistic and romantic adventure ever initiated, but once the romantic venture is dreamed and started on its course, its realization will depend upon our success with the immigrant child and mother. Success with our idealistic theories of government, based upon its faith in all men of all races, and our ability to re-make them in the light of our American ideals of rights and responsibilities, will depend upon our attitude toward our very youngest citizens.

The kindergarten is the institution which opens its doors to the very newest and youngest Americans and attempts to stamp upon them our ideals of government.

The immigrant girl-mother, landed but yesterday, timidly stands at the kindergarten door leading one miniature American by the hand with another asleep on her bosom. The

kindergartner who meets her must be able to read her great opportunity in the faces of mother, infant and child, and must be prepared to handle this opportunity in the light of wisdom as well as sympathy, knowledge as well as faith, with science as well as philosophy; for here is America "in the making," and she has the first opportunity to initiate the earliest processes in the great "melting pot."

DISCUSSION OF MISS HILL'S PAPER

BY CAROLINE T. HAVEN

June 28, 1910

Since the kindergarten may be recognized as one of the agencies concerned in the child welfare movement, it follows that those in charge of this phase of the child's education should be adequately prepared to carry on the work effectively.

The history of the training of kindergartners shows three periods, which over-lapping each other, present characteristics which definitely mark the growth of the kindergarten movement. The first period comprises the early personal work of Froebel from 1837 to the time of his death and the later work carried on by his widow in the same general way.

The second period includes the years from about 1860, the time of its introduction into this country, up to the present time.

The third, which is still in the process of making, dates back to within the past twenty years.

Concerning the first period we have little data except that obtained from Froebel's letters and some of the essays written to explain his principles and the practical means of presenting them to children. So far at least as practice is concerned this period may be designated as one of great *simplicity* and as long as Froebel himself came into direct contact with the children, his training work seems to have partaken of the same spirit and was calculated to lead his pupils to study the child and to relate all exercises to its real needs. The meagre accounts of the first kindergartens in Blankenburg and Rudolstadt, the conduct of which Middendorf shared with Froebel, give delightful pictures of joyous simplicity, while the play festivals first inaugurated here, foreshadow those of the present day. So, too, in Froebel's letters to his cousin, Frau Schmidt, there are charming descriptions of the kindergarten sessions held in the garden and summer house and of the child-like activities in which the two men joined.

After some time spent at the table with the simple blocks which were the only material at first prepared, Middendorf would say, "Come children, let us play and spring," and the ring would soon be formed for games, in which the two men were playfellows with the little ones.

The games seem to have been of prime importance in Froebel's mind although these, too, were of a simple nature. Froebel writes, "I always begin my games with the ball, letting the child nearest me lead the game" and from this he passed on to other games, some of pure movement and others in imitation of the animal life about them or of the human industries with which the children were acquainted.

There seems to have been no forced symbolism put into these games which were but the joyous expression of children's impulses and interests. Besides Middendorf, one young man joined them, sent by the princess who had secured rooms for their Rudolstadt experiment, and to him Froebel expounded his theories of child life and gave opportunities for actual play with the children. At this time Froebel seemed to think that it was to men to whom he must look for teachers, and he writes with pleasure of the success his cousin has had in influencing three men to give some time and thought to his views.

It was not till 1840 that Froebel seriously considered women as those best fitted to carry out his plans, and at that time he issued his first "Call to German mothers." About this time, too, he made some definite plans for the training of young women under three classes:

- a. As nurses to help mothers in the home.
- b. As governesses or teachers in private families.
- c. As preparation for future mothers.

Later, in 1847, he established the first regular training course, though some young women had previously studied with him and had gone out to sow the seeds of his work in other fields. This formal training course covered a period of six months, a time that seems very limited according to present standards, but when one considers that the students lived together in one house and were steadily employed from 7 A. M. to 7 P. M., with only a short recess for luncheon, it will be seen that much was compressed in this short term. The daily programme as given by Froebel, included many studies: Religious instruction, child study, language, music, drawing, numbers, nature study with garden work, stories, occupations which in that day comprised all hand work, and games upon which the greatest stress seems to have been laid. There were games for the nursery and for older children; individual games and games for the whole ring; games sitting and games standing. All these, and, indeed, every subject, were considered in relation to the child and as a means of developing him through his activities.

Froebel laments that the time is so short, but lack of means on the part of the pupils was the chief obstacle to a longer

stay, though each one paid but about thirty-seven cents a day for instruction and living expenses.

Froebel often gave his evenings to individuals who had failed to catch the spirit of his teaching, and he writes that he has scarcely a moment of leisure during the term from seven in the morning till ten at night.

The practice work of those students must have been most valuable as opportunities were given to see Froebel not only join in the games, which were to him the life of the kindergarten, but to watch him as he played with the children at the table. In "Pedagogics" he has outlined some very interesting lessons. He connects the various forms made by the child with the building blocks, with what may "stand in connection with himself." It is grandmamma's chair, the table at which the family sit at meals, the well from which the father draws water or the drinking trough for the cow and its calf, the horse and its colt. He says "the child life moves from house through yard and garden to the wider space and activity of street and market," and it was this close connection of the child's life and the expansion of his experiences that were reflected in his productions.

The result of this early training school was far-reaching, as some of these first pupils carried out the spirit of the master and gave to their work the same characteristic that his early kindergartens had—simplicity in work and play alike.

As Froebel began his work of propaganda by lectures and the writing of articles for the press, he necessarily withdrew from direct contact with children, thereby losing something of the freshness and spontaneity of play, though on occasions, as in the later play festivals, the old spirit asserted itself. More and more he became engrossed in his philosophic ideas while his training pupils gave more time to theoretical considerations and to the details of their application. Thus it came about that by the time the kindergarten came to these shores it brought a heavy freight of detail which has been a burden and a clog up to the present time. This period may be characterized as one of *emphasis on technique* wrought out in the training school and most unfortunately carried into the kindergarten. The course of study was generally lengthened to one year, but its curriculum was narrowed. A weekly lecture on Froebel's principles, some practice in formal games, a little music and story-telling—the remainder of the time being given to the working out of sequences with the gifts and the producing of intricate patterns in the various occupations.

Any one who has examined the endless combinations in paper and worsted presented by the average kindergarten

student may well question the advisability of such a course of training, since the greater part of the forms are of pure imitation handed down from teacher to pupil. It soon came about that these huge books containing the various "schools" of sewing, weaving, folding, etc., became the test of ability to teach young children, and though here and there earnest, far-seeing women recognized the need of a more enlightened course of study and made every effort to train their pupils worthily, the pseudo-kindergarten sprang up on every hand creating distrust of the system in the minds of all thoughtful educators and preventing the spread of better methods. Those who still endeavored to transmit Froebel's ideas in something of their original spirit, were forced to guard their methods jealously, in order that due discrimination be made between the false and the true. This in turn had the effect of separating the kindergartners into a class by themselves and of cultivating in the students a spirit of superiority over all other teachers. The entré into the charmed circle was through the use of a certain set of phrases—so-called kindergarten cant, which no one outside could understand nor appreciate. This widened the breach between the kindergarten and other phases of education and prevented growth within its own borders as well as in the general educational field. The "protestant" always appears in opposition to any formal authority and the kindergarten has proved no exception to the rule. At various times, even in the early years in this country, some brave souls dared to question the validity of prevailing forms. Here the pricking would be discarded as unsuitable occupation for young children and there the drawing on net paper met well-deserved criticism. In a few cases logical sequence was set at naught and the inference that the gifts held magical power in their use was impaired by the introduction of a few toys into the kindergarten room, while an occasional excursion afield, or a visit to a nearby workman became less frowned upon.

In the early nineties the third period of *reconstruction* may be said to have fairly begun, due in a great measure to Dr. Hall who first threw the bomb of doubt into the kindergarten field. Now a doubt once firmly lodged becomes very uncomfortable and persistent and will give you no rest till it receives due consideration. Some of us may at first have declined to harbor the unwelcome visitant but in the end the doubt became "the mother of belief."

The questionnaire on the kindergarten sent out by Clark University, and the address given by Dr. Hall before the N. E. A. at Asbury Park, gave a decided impetus to a more intelligent view of the kindergarten and obliged every one to

question her beliefs and take a decided stand on certain important matters. It is impossible here to give a comprehensive survey of the changes that have taken place since that time in the conduct of the kindergarten and the training of the student. It includes: better housing and general hygienic conditions; less emphasis on technique and more study of the child's natural activities; higher standards in music, art, and literature; a more intimate connection with nature; more and better influence on the home, especially in that of immigrant children; and above all a wholesome relation between the kindergarten and the school, each having modified its former practices to aid in forwarding the result. The training school has perhaps lagged behind to some extent in this movement, but here, also, there has been a decided advance along broader lines of work. From the point of vantage of long experience, one can see the gain already made and can look forward to still greater change. Just what form the new movement will take no one can tell, but the door of opportunity is open, and the broad fields of possibilities lie open to the younger workers.

The training classes of the future must ally themselves to all that is connected with the welfare of the child. Higher academic standing, a broader general culture and a stronger personality must be prerequisites for the course of study. A longer time must be given to this course and hygiene, child study, the best that music, art, literature and science can give, a study of social conditions and community needs—all these and more must be added to the essentials of Froebel's methods and materials and their sane relation to the nursery period which precedes and the school life which follows. The would-be kindergartner must come into touch with every phase of child life, as indicated in the various departments of the Children's Institute, or it may be that eventually the kindergarten itself may form a distinct department of that organization. However this may be, or whatever the means employed, when this reconstruction period comes to its own, the kindergarten will be freed from many of the incumbrances that have weighted it for so many years and its distinguishing feature once more will be—simplicity in method and practice.

THE PLAY LIFE OF GIRLS

By BEULAH KENNARD

In spite of somewhat wearying repetitions in our day of various phases of the woman question, though we contend over woman's rights and woman's fitness for larger participation in public affairs and though able analyses of her physical and mental constitution have been made, we have given little attention to the consideration of her present training for present responsibilities or for those which seem to await her in the immediate future. We are still too sentimental over women to be willing to treat their defects in a rational spirit. For this reason we have invested certain questionable attributes with the mystery which surrounds the eternally feminine and given them up instead of probing for causes. Women have been called the conservative sex, and so they are, but we are far more conservative about them. For if men, many men, wander in strange and forbidden paths, society looks on without excitement sure of their ultimate return but when women cast off tradition or tear themselves away from conventions the solid earth seems shaken. Society then must look to its own safety and promptly declares against such revolutions. So common is the tendency to approach questions concerning women in the spirit of fear, that one ventures with hesitation upon radical statements. We would have our ideal of woman at least remain unchanging but the real woman has never exactly corresponded to our ideal and her type is changing rapidly before our eyes. May not the reason for the greater fixity of the feminine type have been only the greater monotony of her environment in the past? In order to become adequate to present demands she must change still more radically, even to the extent of a transformed nervous system, new motor habits and a reorganization of her brain. The modern woman is not adequate. She is sub-normal nervously, deficient in muscular co-ordination and, because of these defects, lacking in mental and moral stability despite brilliancy of intellect or tenderness of conscience. Instability which affects moral conduct is not only a very serious but a very surprising discovery with regard to women. The limi-

tations of their training in ideals of honor and honesty should prepare us for the breaking down of their moral code under new and unusual strain. What shall we think, however, of weakness which cannot keep the special commandment made for women? Society does not require of them a high sense of honor or much honesty, but it does demand absolute purity without peradventure or excuse. Yet impurity is the form of social evil of which women are guilty more often than of all other forms combined. Those who have thus fallen from their high estate would seem the more base and depraved. Their numbers are great enough to give us pause if this were so indeed. But we find rather that they are not vicious but unbalanced, nervous, highly excitable often, uncontrolled, lacking mental and muscular co-ordination, and with their minds filled with sentimental nonsense. In attempting the reinstatement of such girls and women it is not difficult to create in them the desire to do right. They are still responsive to ideals but have no wills with which to follow ideals. The next temptation finds them as helpless as the last.

But the nervous instability of women need not reach this climax in order to be unfortunate. It is sufficiently evident in our homes, in women's organizations and in social work. Even among those of unusual moral force, women whose intellect is keen and whose accomplishments have been notable, one is rarely found whose nerves do not sometimes betray her in most exasperating ways. Women of serenity and authority have lived, but few of them have seen our day. Instead of serenity we have irritability, lack of inhibition, bursts of nervous energy, neurasthenia and hysteria. These are characteristics belonging to the unstable period of adolescence and the most obvious explanation of their continued existence in the adult life of women is that the latter have suffered from arrested development at that stage of growth. We have only begun to ask whether this arrest is necessary and whether certain characteristics called feminine are not merely unripe. Affectability has undeniable charm when it is not too pronounced. Response to the feeling of others often seems so like real sympathy and understanding that it may be easily mistaken for them, but if the next sensation arouses the same degree of reaction it becomes monotonous. With some women affectability seems to be tending toward the dangerous stage where the self-determining will is destroyed and the consciousness is submerged in the stimuli. Under certain forms of subjective religion they become pervious to every influence save that of their own reason. In these instances we seem but little removed from the sentimental

damsels of the eighteenth century, who swam in tears and fainted in phalanxes, and begin to wonder whether women have individual souls or merely reflexes. Yet the savage woman is the antithesis of nerves and as little affectable as a gentle cow. For some reason civilization has dealt less kindly with women than it has with men. From the primitive age when they stood nearly equal in height and in physical and mental ability gradually diverging standards have shown how far women were slipping toward the rear in size, strength and endurance until their original function as beasts of burden and general utility, has been quite forgotten in the appreciation of their helplessness. During the past two or three generations the neglected brains and bodies of our women have been receiving more attention and many of them are now fairly serviceable machines except for this highly unsatisfactory nervous system which indicates some lack of adaptation. Thirty or forty years ago nervous instability was attributed entirely to over-exertion and the cry was insistent that women's health must be preserved at any cost to their intellectual development. But this was "against nature" as good Marcus Aurelius would have said. On the contrary, the training of women's reason has been mildly beneficial to their nervous systems and the training of their muscles has to some extent counterbalanced the effects of artificial living. Assuming then the hypothesis that instability corresponding to adolescence is the underlying cause and that it indicates arrested development instead of over stimulation let us seek to discover the point at which retardation begins. In early childhood there is no appreciable difference in the development of girls and boys though the girls seem to keep slightly in advance. From the eighth to the eleventh year boys expand more than girls, then the latter seem to gather their energy for a quick race to maturity, suddenly finding themselves "finished" at some distance from the goal. The rapid sex development and mental crystallization beginning at the eleventh year has been associated with the radical change taking place in the girl's physical organism but we may well ask why her general advance toward maturity should stop at fifteen or sixteen while the maternal function takes four or five years more for completion.

Should we be surprised to learn that the apparent early maturity is only apparent and has been gained at the expense of the woman child's perfection? The one most important task of civilization has always been the extension of childhood that in this plastic state the race may discover its strength and develop its latent powers. But the girl has not shared

equally with her brother in these things. The greater plasticity of her nature, her very responsiveness and docility and the tremendous part she must play in racial development should be indications to us of her greater need for slow and symmetrical ripening. By age-long custom and tradition her growth is forced instead. Do we dare ask why? We may secure more practical results with less loss to our self respect if we look for immediate causes and remedies rather than for reasons. Here we find that the most significant fact to be observed in connection with the girl's haste to be grown up is that she loses her play spirit very early in the process. A recent investigation among the girls' playgrounds of over a hundred towns and cities showed that in seventy per cent. of those in which the girls had no play leader to stimulate them, those over eleven or twelve did not attend or did not play. In the others their interest was almost entirely confined to circle games which belong to the later kindergarten age. These circle games are thought by many to be girls' games, because so few go beyond them into those requiring skill, strength or initiative.

It is necessary to know the nature and function of play in order to realize its bearing on nerves and arrested development. This is too large a subject to cover in a few paragraphs. Fortunately we need no longer defend play, the most spontaneous form of childish self-expression, whether primitive and instinctive, in rapid or rhythmic motion, social in competition or co-operation with others, creative and constructive in its desire to remake the world in its image, dramatic, imitative, inquiring, curious, helpful, always alive with energy, it has nothing in common with passive affectability or love of sensation and is the natural antidote for them. If we would discover why the girl's play stops and other things begin to stop at this critical age of eleven we should inquire of her previous years. Normal boys and girls under eight years have their tastes as well as their growth in common. There is no marked difference in their life or in their studies and should be none in their games. Even the preferences which boys may show for soldiers and girls for dolls are rather thrust upon them by their elders, who largely influence children's play through suggestion.

Country boys and girls play happily together even after this age without loss to the boy's self respect. At seven or eight years two new instincts begin to emerge, the wandering spirit and the fighting spirit. It is the age of competition but boys will not compete with girls unless the odds are plainly on their side because, having discovered that they are superior beings, it would be a disgrace to be beaten. They can test their strength only with their equals. The appeal to a boy's chi-

valry at this time is strangely misplaced except so far as it relates to younger children, the aged and helpless or to dumb animals. To ask the primeval savage to consider and respect the weakness of girls wakens his sex consciousness too early and makes him domineering or scornful rather than gentle. She is a primeval savage too or she ought to be, as strong and swift and skillful as her brother, why should she be given favor? We have feared that she would lose her femininity by literal fighting, though even boys do not usually compete with their fists. Girls being less pugnacious need not trouble us on that score. However, while boys and girls of this age may play together they tend naturally to separate and acquire different interests. The same instinct which leads them to compete with each other and to wander tends to individualize them in other ways. It is a critical point in the human struggle for self realization. The baby's vague consciousness that "this is I" which has slowly defined itself through action and perception, imitation and creation, now develops an energetic desire to conquer its environment, to discover itself in new conditions and to free itself from limitations. The childish soul must establish its own identity in some independent fashion before it can establish relations with other independent and wonderful creatures. There is something deeper than the historical parallelism which exists between this fighting age and the fighting stage of race development. If the aggressive qualities in man or people were only a preparation for war they are already superseded by the arts of peace, but the individual as well as the nation must still come into his own by testing his strength with the known environment, and by rediscovery of himself in the new and unknown. The girl has no less need of developing this sense of personality than the boy, but she does not develop it to anything like the same degree. Nothing could be more enlightening as to the origin of certain limitations in our adolescent girls, or in women of greater age than a careful study of the games played by girls in the pre-adolescent period, and their other play interests, as compared with those of groups of boys of similar age. The boy's play becomes more and more inclusive, develops new motor activities, co-ordinates the muscular and the mental powers, disciplines the emotions, stimulates the imagination, strengthens the will, gradually assumes group characteristics and swings into team play, inspiring, social, incomparable for the training of character and the cultivation of self control. In the meantime the girl's play has been checked a little here, and much there, by her lack of freedom and opportunity, fears for her safety, questions of propriety, indoor occupations and clothes. Unless the play spirit in her be exceptionally strong,

it hesitates, soon falters and dies. By the time she is twelve years old, her motor activity has fallen below normal and her motor memories soon follow. Her nervous energy must find for itself new avenues of discharge. Her imagination must have new material upon which to feed. The first finds an outlet in emotion and sensational excitement, the second seeks satisfaction in sentimental fiction. What else could they do? If the girl's mind is not inert and lazy, it occupies itself with dreams and loses its connection with the sane and normal. In all girls' schools and colleges, as well as in reformatories, there is a tendency which baffles the wisest administrator. This is the formation of morbid friendships between fellow students or between teachers and students. The evil of these friendships is due solely to the unhealthy emotionalism of the girls, yet they sometimes become pathological in their intensity and perversion of instinct. They are not always known to be dangerous until some tragedy has occurred. On the morning when this paper was completed the Boston papers contained the pathetic story of a girl in one of the industrial schools, who had just hanged herself because of her jealous infatuation with another girl. These are exaggerated symptoms of an unnatural condition which may show itself in less shocking ways. It may be only a spirit of ennui, a craving for excitement or impatience for "him" to appear. Any one overhearing the conversation of girls in a confidential mood will almost invariably catch some allusion to "his" attentions, or "his" attractions, or "his" last performances whatever they may have been. We cannot help wondering if these girls never do anything themselves or have any interests of their own. One woman, experienced in dealing with girls, says : that a valuable result of team play is that it supplies material for wholesome conversation. The sensational excess and affectability of our girls is thus physiologically accounted for in the damming up of their natural channels for self expression. They have become the prey of outside influences because they could only raise passive barriers of timidity and reserve between themselves and the world, and respond all too readily to any force strong enough to break these barriers down. Their irritability and lack of emotional and mental poise is due to the same cause. They have never found themselves or taken themselves in hand. Their lack of muscular co-ordination may also be traced to that eleventh year or earlier. The body responds with less and less accuracy unless its reactions have become habitual before adolescence. Mastery of the violin must begin before the twelfth year, and all other arts and crafts requiring delicacy and skill must either be learned early or have back of them training in instinctive perception and muscular response which

women are not in the way of receiving and will not receive unless their work and play appeals more to the imagination.

The defective inhibition of women is not due to lack of conscience or of precept but to deficiency in motor training. Conscience and custom are strong enough to supply the necessary restraints in important matters, but in details which seem more trifling the average woman shows instability of purpose. The increased range of her social responsibilities, which demand concentration, sustained effort and self control and the absence of traditional restraints which supplied inhibition enough from without, present problems for her which we shall not easily solve. In giving women unaccustomed freedom in the social and economic world without due preparation for it, we have begun at the wrong end. They must either be put back in leading strings or trained in the force and independence necessary to guide their own actions, if we would save our community life from anarchy. But it is finally for the future men and women that we must develop our girls and shape them in a more heroic mold. For these we shall discover the great potentialities of play and of the play spirit. If we would have stronger men in the next generation we must have stronger women now. If we want braver men then we must have braver women now. If we want better balanced men, sane and sound, we must make our women sound in brain and body and nerve, self poised and conscious of their strength and of the birthright dignities of heroes and the mothers of heroes.

APPLICATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGY TO CHILD WELFARE INSTITUTIONS

By PRESIDENT G. STANLEY HALL

There are now about 150,000 people in this country so feeble minded as to need special care, of whom only some 15,000, or one in ten, are in our 30 public institutions for them. We have some 105 reform schools with about 52,000 inmates, costing nearly \$7,000,000 a year. There are not far from 350 hospitals for the insane with perhaps 200,000 inmates. About two-thirds of these institutions are public and cost some \$20,000,000 a year. There are 115 state, public, private and church institutions for the blind and deaf, with more than 15,000 inmates, costing about \$2,500,000 per year. There are some 400 prisons with nearly 90,000 inmates, costing perhaps \$13,000,000, and we have 2,500 almshouses with about 100,000 inmates. There are 1,200 refuge homes and 1,500 hospitals costing some \$30,000,000 per year. Davenport estimates that between three and four per cent. of our population have or ought to have institutional care of some sort and that altogether they cost us \$100,000,000 per year. Of course these figures are approximate and not all from the same year and they include institutions for adults as well as children.

Besides these, and for children alone, there are many orphanages, infant asylums, children's aid societies, day nurseries, purity, anti-cruelty and sanitation agencies, institutions for speech defect, treatment of eye, ear and teeth troubles, the crippled, nervous and epileptic children, dispensaries, school physicians, district and school nurses. We have child labor, temperance societies, special schools for truants, subnormal children, juvenile courts and probation systems. Now the worst of this whole sad business is that we are not sure that we are abating many of these evils, and, indeed, the most of them seem to be increasing not only absolutely, but relatively, to the increase of our population, despite all this labor and expense. We do much to check contagious diseases, but have not yet been able to greatly affect infant mortality especially under the first year. Now, if there is a regular percentage of increase in the cases needing treatment by the above agencies, and increase not due merely to better methods of enumeration, and if we can not stop it, why! an eighth grade boy can figure out the number of years it

will take for the whole nation to become a hospital and all the morally, mentally and physically well will have to devote themselves to caring for those born short, arrested or perverted. This leads me to my first point which is that we must not interfere too much with natural selection in the human field. If the rate of increase of the best children diminishes and that of the worst increases, the destiny of our land is sealed and our people are doomed to inevitable decay and ultimate extinction.

These three big ds we deal with, the defectives, delinquents and the dependents; the great biologos or spirit of life would designate or describe by another adjective big d not fit to print or speak, for they are a fearful drag upon our civilization. If some new sudden calamity, like a pestilence, a widespread earthquake, or the whisk of a comet's tail had suddenly produced all this wreckage how we should bestir ourselves and how vivid and universal would be the realization of the magnitude of this evil to which long familiarity has made us too supine! From the standpoint of eugenic evolution alone considered, these classes are mostly fit only for extermination in the interests of the progress of the race. On the principle of selection and the survival of the best, they should be treated as Burbank treats the huge pile of plants he has cultivated and bred from that would not yield the best product and so burns. These are the tailings of the mine, the wastage and by-product of civilization. Nietzsche, who considered himself a sort of evolutionary Christ of whom Darwin was only the greatest of the prophets, condemned even Christianity because it so exalted pity and thought so tenderly of and conserved the weak, sick, paupers and the outcasts who ought to be left to their fate in the order of nature, which is to die out and leave the world for the best specimens of humanity. To allow the Jukes, Ishmaels and the Karnagels not only to live but to spawn their progeny he deems slow racial suicide which interferes with nature's purgative method of eliminating the weaklings.

Now it is not necesasry to take time in this presence to refute these extreme and in the present state of society quite unpractical theories. The world is not yet ready, if indeed it ever will be ready, to put them into practice or to apply the principles of stock breeding to man. We all believe in eugenics and its viewpoints should temper all our work, but its thoroughbred advocates do scant justice to the worth of the sentiment of pity, compassion, mercy and mutual help upon which the highly gregarious soul of man and human society itself so largely rests. Who knows but that these unfortunates render mankind one of the best of all services

in keeping our hearts warm and our sympathies quick, and in strengthening the sense of social solidarity and brotherhood, so that perhaps in this sense they render us a greater service than any we can ever hope to render them, especially in these days of egoism, grasping greed and ruthless individual selfishness. Who knows how far we should go in this line but for them! So far as I can analyze it, the chief cornerstone of our religion is found in the psychology of sympathy and compassion which drew God himself down from heaven to earth. This is the self-same principle that draws individual men and women, cities and states to give and to work for those who are unable to meet their own needs.

When we survey all this vast derelict side of life, it is first of all plain that while adults of many classes, the vicious, sick, aged, and the rest, will always need our ministrations, it is the young with whom we can do most and who best respond to our efforts and through whom we can do most for the future. Again, it is plain without discussion, that immediate present relief, like first aid to the injured, should always have precedence. The best agencies are often those who act quickest in emergencies. Food, shelter, clothing, medical care cannot wait and our effectiveness might be measured by the mathematical formula of inversely as the square of the time distance between the need and the operation of the aid. The slow action of complex machinery must not thwart the ends it was devised to serve. We must never forget that everything in the whole arsenal of charitable apparatus is only a means to the end of prompt and efficacious help. We must never allow the multiplication of agencies and official routine or red tape or prolonged or delayed personal investigation to interfere with instant individual relief where this is needed. Doles to beggars on the street, or food passed out at the back or even the front door is not scientific charity, but even that is sometimes best and we may take some risk of aiding imposters rather than run too great risk in turning away one worthy one not duly investigated and credentialed. Children are at any rate as a rule less apt in imposture and all our rules for adults will often need suspension or modification for them. This in all its extent we have not yet quite fully appreciated.

But secondly we have an higher, harder common duty toward all these assisted classes; a duty which it is one leading purpose of this National Child Welfare Conference, *i. e.*, to emphasize, and that is to study these cases individually and collectively by all the most advanced and special methods that can make our actual work with and for them wiser and better. They must be helped and loved with all the warm enthusiasm for humanity that philanthropists who give and those who

work or pray ever felt. The great tide of charity that flows so rich and strong and deep from the heart, however, must be illuminated by all the sciences, so many of which now have their best fields of practical application here. We must not only pool all the results of specialists for our common use, but we must actively contribute to increase the sum total of human knowledge upon all topics that can improve the rising generation than which there is nothing in the world so worthy of supreme love, reverence and service.

Never was there so rich a field open for hygienic, eugenic, physiological, pathological, anthropological, psychological, sociological as well as for statistical and experimental study and research as that which is constituted by the inmates of the institutions many of you here represent. The material upon which investigation is needed is rich and rank; the field is wide and white for the harvest and much of it is now going to waste, and this you know and feel even better than I. In our wards nature has made many sad and cruel experiments, she has lapsed, blundered, and thereby given herself away by betraying her secrets which she seems here to invite us to explore. We owe already very much knowledge of the makeup and motivation of human nature to its fragmentary specimens. I think there is general consent that it is by the study of these classes, far more than by studies in any other domain, that our knowledge of man and mind can now be most increased. Study of mankind is now; your work can never be like that of the routine teacher, mechanical and in lockstep groups, for your every child is a new bundle of problems and your success depends upon your insight in discerning and your originality in inventing new methods; in other words, in raising new questions and in exploring for new answers. Each new case puts up to you a new problem, puts you on your metal. You must build your own tools and do not find them ready made. You must build every road you travel, step by step, as you advance. It is a question of your own resources rather than of cut and dried ways, and there is no glimmer of knowledge you have ever acquired in the field of any or all of the ologies just enumerated that will not sometime with some problematic boy or girl come most opportunely handy and may indeed save a soul to civic usefulness. Adults are more finished and static; children far more complex, plastic, fuller of dynamic potentialities and the children you work with are often almost startlingly salvable. Their senses, their physical, intellectual or moral development merely lag or are checked, and if you can touch the right spring, results may be marvellous. The child is ages older than the adult who is a relatively very modern institution, and both its body and soul are

full of rudimentary organs by the score that belong to a remote past. Some of these must be left to atrophy and others must be actively developed. The very vices of the young hark back to savagery. Their diseases and abnormalities are often connected with embryonic stages, which persist. Their perversities are only good traits out of proportion or out of their time order. Everything that makes for your success or failure depends in the last analysis upon how well you know or do not know the child and how to deal with its body and soul. Some divine much by tact and native insight and others little, but the time is very near when the demand will be imperative that all who serve this class must be informed, at least in general, of the wealth of resources which have lately been opened to your craft and which are so rapidly making it more scientific and more professional. All the ologies above have a common focus in the child, the study of which is for all practical purposes the very best pedagogic way of approach to each and all of them.

All higher statemanship should look with the greatest solicitude to your statistics to tell whether our land is producing better or worse human specimens. This is the ultimate test of whether family, school, church and government are doing their work well or ill. You should keep the conning tower from which all of them should take their larger bearings and orient themselves in the widest horizon. To do this well, all your tests should so far as possible be uniform and national and tell just what constitutes a criminal, imbecile or pervert, for there are always far more individuals near the boundary line than well above or clearly below. Social and personal diagnosis is always the first step and the success of treatment depends upon how well this is done.

Let me now tab off a few of the specific contributions which the larger child study has made toward a few of those classes we care for, although each of the following points needs a chapter or an hour.

I. No one to-day is qualified to deal with boys in groups who does not know the psychology of the gang which has now quite a little body of choice literature and is a very fundamental part of genetic sociology. This the judge of the juvenile court, the probation and truant officers, heads of boys' clubs or of adult controlled organizations of the young for religious, moral, or other ends, to say nothing of those interested in school self-government, should know by heart. A good fraction of all juvenile delinquencies is due to the gang spirit which is almost identical, point by point, with the savage tribe. The thousands in this work succeed about in proportion as they know enough to become themselves members and leaders

of the gang, for even such organizations as the Junior Endeavorers, Knights of King Arthur, etc., are, in boy language, members of God's gang, or of the church gang. Indeed, gang psychology is the master key of juvenile crime.

II. Purity workers of all kinds must know the genetic psychology of sex or they can never cope with the gigantic evil of vice of which this is the key. Would that I had time to point out the positive injury done by well meaning ignorance here, the harm caused by those who strive to help! I can think of no department in which our ideas have undergone such sudden enlargement and transformation in recent years as in this domain. It involves a total readjustment of our ideas concerning the age of greatest danger, the predisposing and the active causes, modes of cure, the nature and consequences of error, etc., and the diseases which have been called the black plague and the red plague respectively. We can now detect several of the roots of sex aberration in the infant in arms and a group of others in the child before school age. We know, thanks to the Freud School, Moll, Ellis and many others, the peculiar and hitherto unsuspected vulnerability of the ages from eight to ten. Only within a very few years have we understood the great significance of physiological age and how easily we do harm when we co-ordinate children who are the same number of years old but have not passed the pubescent crisis. We know, too, from very special painful studies, something of the dimensions of this generally hidden evil in school and college and our ideas, especially of self abuse as well as of gonorrhea have undergone great change, while the effects of the social evil and the methods of moral prophylaxis are now revealed in a new light. Indeed, here lie the roots of nearly all the psychoses and many of the neuroses of adult life. These are the elements on which Emmanuelists and mind curists of various types have worked without knowing it. The time is at hand when these topics are to be taught in the schools. Here every child worker should have special knowledge and of those who enter this peculiar field a certificate should be required.

III. The nature of the transforming years of adolescence, as it is now understood, is changing our ideas and methods of education at this age in home, school, church and in all special and private institutions for exceptional youth. Over the door of every such institution should be written—Let him or her who knows not the laws and facts of adolescence not enter. This age is in many respects the most plastic and vulnerable of all stages of life. It is most easily helped by those who know it and most easily harmed by those who know it not. How harmful the moral or physical trainer, or the Sunday

school teacher who does not understand it and what a blessing are those true shepherds who can penetrate the secret soul of the budding girl or boy in the awkward age!

IV. About one per cent. of the American children of school age are subnormal or in some way arrested, although relatively few of these are in institutions. The remarkable clinical work, to which I hardly need here refer, lately done by Witmer at Philadelphia, Goddard at Vineland, Healey and Macmillan at Chicago, Chase and O'Connor at Clark and others in this country is a direct product of applied child study. Their achievements constitute one of the most brilliant chapters of its results brought to the furtherance of beneficent ends. Here we have an almost ideal relation which should exist between psychogenesis and every child welfare institution, namely, these subnormal children are being studied more thoroughly and helped more than any other class ever was. They are both adding much particular knowledge as material for research and are being aided themselves by better methods more wisely directed. Indeed, standards of ability, both physical and mental, are being established for each age on which we can grade subnormality. A wealth of data, too, for heredity, where this is given practical attention, is being slowly accumulated. Thus it is no longer sufficient to herd and care for these unfortunates. Each peculiar child is a class by himself and should profit by the expert methods now so far along in their evolution. Nowhere has pedagogic genius and inventiveness accomplished better results.

V. Again, take the playgrounds together with games and toys. How grossly ignorant and negligent we were here a few years ago until various studies of childhood showed us that in play children both practice and train themselves for future vocations and at the same time, what is yet more important, are rehearsing the most significant of the practical activities and vocations of the race from way back all adown its ancient phyletic history! So in right play teaching, we are working in the very depths or in the centre and not in the shallows or the circumference of the soul. Thus we woke up to the fact that many city children do not know half a dozen of the scores or hundreds of the plays and games they should and had no proper places to play in. We realized that if the boy without a playground did not make the man without a job, he was at any rate a dwarfed and distorted if not half evolved being. The present magnificent playground movement, while it is a direct product of better knowledge and needs of the child, has only begun to profit by these sources of knowledge, for there is yet a whole chapter of the psychology of toys which it has not yet learned to apply.

The playground leaders have not yet realized how toys smalled down to the dimensions of the boyish mind and hand constitute almost a child's edition of the great world we live in. It is very easy to predict that a new dispensation impends in this field when play material shall have its innings.

VI. The work of the Story Tellers League, library and other story telling represented the contemporary revival of the antique method of education which was universal, for once all education was story telling. Here, pedagogic psychology has much to teach that would render this work more effective. It has a rich chapter on the history of the art from the Homeridæ down, including the nature of tradition, the advantages of the mouth-ear method over the far later, long circuited eye and hand tract which reads and writes. But its best and surest teachings concerning the nature of the story material, the kind of tale that knits up the very brain itself into a better organized unity and safeguards it against the many types of dual or multiple egos now so common—concerning this by far the most vital point of the matter, the modern story teller is, I am confident in saying, pathetically far astray. While children do not want a too direct or obvious moral, every story should bear essentially upon conduct and form sentiment and preform choices. It should be an instrument to betterment and not an amusement only. Indeed, interest would gain by different canons of selection. Every story teller should be challenged to stand and answer what he or she expects to do or accomplish with each tale. The kit of stories should include only the very best classic standards and should introduce the child into the rightly elementarized story roots of the very choicest Greek, mediæval and other material, the kind of mythopoeic motherlei that has shaped the great epics and so many of the great masterpieces of literature, the tales of Troy, of the Greek dramatists, of Renard the Fox and animal legends, the Niebelungen and Arthuriad books, the Wandering Jew, the Bible, some of Shakespere, etc. Story tellers think they succeed if they entertain and amuse. They have not yet understood real edification and what it is or how it is attained. Here the natural corrective lies in a better knowledge of the nature of childhood. Unless this reform is effected, story telling will never take the place it deserves in our educational system.

VII. The big brother movement is in great need of pedagogic psychogenetic explication. Its history and its motivation date back to Plato, who held that it was a shame to any boy not to have an older mentor, hero inspirer and that it was a disgrace to a young man not to make himself a special ideal or spiritual father of a younger boy. This principle

has a long history from the apprenticeship to the fatherland to apprenticeship to a trade. It has other outcrops and a system of personal advisors lately in use in many high schools and colleges of this country, in the ancient method of fagging, or initiation of the control and hazing of freshmen, and all the manifold monitorial care of younger by older children and youth. Indeed, this is one of the ideal types of friendship and prompts the mentor to always be at his best as a pattern setter to his ward. As a Godfather or guardian, quasi, or supplementary parent to younger men or women, older youth are themselves given great and new reinforcements to mental and moral progress.

VIII. At the opposite extreme, we have the psychology of orphans, which shows what fatherhood and motherhood mean by their loss and here belong sad lessons of parental cruelty and abuse, also the effects of disharmony between the parents and divorce, also the effects of institutionalization compared with the placing out system. Defective parenthood has many outcrops from inability and unwillingness to nurse, which is absolutely necessary to complete motherhood and the failure to do which always involves one or more parental defects, to the problem of the duties of unwed mothers toward their children and the problem of foundling asylums with their fearful mortality. Shall we rehabilitate these unfortunate mothers at the expense of their children, or shall we teach them to face the shame, retain their children and develop them and themselves? Shall our agency content itself with trying to secure marriage or support from the fathers? Upon all these problems genetic psychology has distinct new light to shed which will make every agency here more effective.

These are a few of the things child psychology offers to child workers. It might be greatly extended and these items are inadequately explained. It has explored the early stages of religious growth, the meaning of child morality, has a big kit of ideas, principles and illustrations about children's lies, how industrial education ought to begin, what dancing and music have to give, the difference in the nature and treatment of boys and girls, the modes of drawing, the real significance of the theatre, festivals, holiday celebrations. In all these and many other lines, hygiene in its various departments, the development of speech, number and form, it is anxious to put what it knows to work concerning growth, the character and instinct of teasing and bullying, chums and imaginary companions, nascent stages, what crying, laughing, fear and anger do and mean, the value of rhythm, the stages in the growth of meaning and reason, the dangers of the only child, the psychology of foods, dolls, of the imagination, of sleep,

slang, the effects of weather upon children, their fetiches and how to use them, imitation, growth of accuracy, the responses of the child's soul to the great powers of nature, sun, moon, clouds, lightning, snow, sea, river, fire, wind, trees, flowers, animals, heat, cold, light and darkness, their propensities for showing off, fatigue, sleep, dreams, ownership, speech and its defects, their automatic movements, money sense, children's rights, revery, blushing, home and school punishments, their suggestibility, modes of demonstrating, certainty, the nature of obstinacy and obedience, their sense of justice, what interest means, creeping and walking, their most common faults. which Kőzle lists at over 900, their tastes in reading, ideas of vocation, causes of bad spelling.

So far I have tried to suggest what child study can teach you and now, it is high time to say that you can teach us no less and perhaps more than we can you, although I am of course less competent to speak of this side. You are hard up against the concrete vital facts. You are not only by far the most competent of all our critics, but it is at your feet above all others that we wish to sit. We would visit your headquarters, go with you on your rounds, sit in council with you when you discuss, besides have you tell us where to go. We want you to advise and inform us when and where to go in order to profit most by your rich store of concrete experience. We want you to receive and help our staff of experts and specialists and we are advising all students of childhood in all universities who belong to our Child Study Association Section to cultivate your acquaintance, to elicit your help, all to the end of a new mutuality and co-operation which we hope we may together inaugurate the coming year. Do you consent? Do you take us on? Will you show us about, answer our questionnaires and help us to formulate them? What two groups of workers can be of greater benefit to each other or need each other more? Shall the banns be proclaimed? Are we not true affinities, counterparts, allies? Are we not both tunneling the same mountain from opposite directions and now near meeting in the middle so that soon a new shortcut to greater effectiveness in helping children shall be opened?

Finally, I dare hardly glance at the vast theme which our programme assigns me, viz., what child study contributes to educational and social progress for this needs a volume, of which I am hardly yet prepared to write the chapter heads. I will only try, therefore, to make one general statement here. Child study has helped to show mankind in the larger light of evolution. It also tries to see the universe from the viewpoint of the nature and needs of the child. Despite all the

agencies here represented, it is a conviction which is steadily gaining ground that the so-called middle and better, or the representative classes of this country, have gone farther toward losing sympathetic touch with children than any other race in history ever did. Progressive race suicide, the abandoned farms, decadent families, the dwindling and impoverished current of breast milk because so many mothers cannot or will not nurse their babes, the intensely absorbing life of parents that sucks the heart dry and diverts them from the personal care of their children, hotel life, the precocity and early emancipation of the young from parental control, the multiplication of proxy agents that relieve parents of the efforts they once had to make for their offspring (and we cease to love what we cease to work for), the mechanism of our schools which lose sight of the individual child in the group and marshall platoons through desiccated curricula of prepared culture, the meagre and ill-adapted toys, the paucity of true child books and journals in the flood of ill-adapted ones, especially as compared with toys and child literature and stories in Germany and Japan where about everything adults do, know or care for is small down and epitomized for children. Again, ask any observant teacher in one of our polyglot city grade schools among what nationalities she finds the greatest devotion of parents to children and where most time and pains are taken with them, and some of them will tell you among Jews, some Italians, some the Irish, etc., but none will give the first place and many will give the last place to American families who have been here several generations. Consider our divorces. More of them there are in this country than in all the civilized world besides, some 13 per cent. of all marriages in some localities as sometimes figured. There are more too even where there are children who are the chief bond and whose lives are mutilated by this rupture of the family. Consider the percentages of the unwed, and of the wed but childless, and that too among just those who should bear children for their own and for their country's good, on the same principle that they should pay taxes or fight when the nation's life is in danger. Consider the American city life which has grown so fast and which is a hot-house for childhood, ripening everything in it before it is time, and recall the tiptoe lust of all children here to become men and women and play their adult rôles in life before they are ripe or well trained to do so. Recall the fact that barely half of the children of school age in this country will be found in the school on any given day and the wide interval between even the enrollment and school age. Consider the early desertion of the school, especially from

the sixth grade up, compulsory laws notwithstanding. Or think of the immense waste or retardation up the grades; of our till lately improper modes of celebrating holidays, Sundays included, the afternoon or evening of which at least ought to be sacred to children and to the home. Think of our inadequate protection of the working mother before or after confinement; of the still inadequate protection afforded by our child labor laws. Ponder these things, one by one, and tell me if we Americans love children as we should or are doing our duty to make the human crop what it should and could be? Have we not been in grave danger of losing even appreciation for the naïveté and spontaneity itself which is the most characteristic thing in childhood? Happily, to know a child is to love it and the more we know it, the better we love it. To know, love and serve childhood is the most satisfying, soul-filling of all human activities. It rests on the oldest and strongest and sanest of all instincts. It gives to our lives a rounded out completeness as does no other service. No other object is so worthy of service and sacrifice, and the fullness of the measure in which this is rendered is the very best test of a nation and race, or a civilization. Indeed, what is the use of anything in this world if the human harvest, which gives everything else wealth and worth, falls short?

THE DUTY OF THE COMMUNITY TO THE NEGLECTED CHILD

By C. C. CARSTENS

Work in behalf of the neglected children of our communities is important, first, because through it children to whom the parents owe a suitable home and the community owes suitable surroundings are rescued from degraded and degrading conditions, and secondly, because through a better understanding of the various forms of neglect a foundation is laid upon which much other good social work may be built.

So that we may have clearly before us a rough classification of children for whom every community should undertake certain organized work, let us consider the content of these classes in a few words.

The first group to be mentioned is the one generally called *dependent children* who, because of sickness or death of the bread winner or because of some other calamity to the family, the community, or the nation, cannot be provided with the necessities of life from natural sources within the family group.

The second group is that of *neglected children* who are fed, clothed, protected and nurtured only indifferently or not at all; and who have been left to the tender mercies of environments outside of their own family that have frequently been their undoing. This group may be suffering from the effects of poverty, but what characterizes the group particularly is that it is suffering from willful neglect of parents, guardians or of the community at large.

The third group is that of *delinquent* children who have been guilty of some breach of the statute law or the ordinances of the city or town.

Theoretically, it would seem easy to distinguish these groups but in reality it is difficult to do so, and in the case of some children it is merely an academic question whether they belong in class 1, 2 or 3 to the exclusion of the other two classes.

Many dependent children, whether in orphan asylums or in individual homes in town or country, it is well known, are not orphans at all but are dependent because of parental neglect or abandonment. The proportion of boys and girls in the industrial schools of this and other commonwealths, placed there because of the poor home conditions, is in the

case of every institution, large. The more closely we study the individual family histories, the more evidence we find of varying forms of willful, flagrant neglect, which our communities must through public or private agencies recognize and deal with. It is, for instance, apt to be a snap judgment that declares a certain child a truant, a wayward, or a delinquent. Doubtless in the case of the truant there is evidence of truancy, and in the case of the wayward, evidence that the child is unmanageable or fast becoming incorrigible, but dealing with them as truants or wayward is dealing with symptoms or results; it is not dealing with the fundamentals of child life. Truants, waywards, and delinquents are in a large proportion of instances the products of non-functioning family homes, in other words, the results of parental or family neglect in its various forms.

Recently there came to my notice the case of a fifteen-year-old boy who was brought before one of the courts of this commonwealth on the charge of being idle and disorderly. The officer in the case testified that he had seen the boy around a certain city in this state late at nights, had seen him begging, had seen him sleep out in a cellar and the last time the officer found him sick in a cellar lying in a dry goods box. He was spoken to repeatedly about this habit but with no effect. Finally the boy had stolen some money with which he had bought some food. Upon the recommendation of an officer of this state, he was committed to the State Farm at Bridgewater, designed for vagrants.

Later inquiry on the part of an agent of this Society revealed the fact that the father and mother had not lived together for fifteen years. During that time the mother had lived in illegal relations with another man to whom she had borne three children and who had driven the fifteen-year-old out practically six years ago. Is it difficult to understand why he stole, why he slept out, why he crept into other people's cellars? Were these so-called delinquencies not indications of normal human nature?

A father abandoned his wife and four children about ten years ago. They went to live with the maternal grandparents. Through years of struggle the mother maintained them without being dependent on any one outside of the family. Sickness and the growing age of the grandparents, and growing needs of the children brought them to the point where dependence and pauperism, with its many temptations, and loss of self-respect, stared them in the face. What more serious neglect on the part of either parent than the neglect of family responsibility to provide the ordinary comforts of life. The number of dependents caused each year by the neglect to pro-

vide shelter and sustenance is especially tragic because it is so large and the distress it occasions so largely avoidable.

There came into the babies' ward of a hospital recently an eight months' old child who showed all the symptoms of malnutrition. The mother and the mother's sister apparently had much less sense about the feeding of this child than a cat has about the feeding of her kittens. Both visited the child under the influence of liquor. Naturally they cling to it and do not wish anybody else to bring it up, but apparently the only chance the child has to live is for some intelligent and devoted person to protect it from the mistakes of its mother.

This is but one instance of hundreds that could be given of neglect of health and of the primary elements of survival. This neglect is probably largely due to ignorance but there are parents who willfully neglect to provide for a child's health and well being; who, when told that a child under certain conditions will be infected with a dangerous or even a loathsome disease, pay no attention to the warning.

A young girl of sixteen recently came into the Juvenile Court as a wayward child. The girl stated that she had "done many dirty things for her mother." The mother had frequently punished the girl with a strap, had thrown knives and forks and hot water at her, till the girl finally ran away and learned to take care of herself and that not always in the best way. She spent her evenings on the streets. She worked in restaurants and played minor parts at low theatres. She is now expecting the birth of her first illegitimate child.

About a year and a half ago our attention was called to a family consisting of a father of 70, a mother of 34, who was a second wife, and their five children, a girl of 11, boys of 10, 5 and 2 and a baby boy. There were also two men boarders in the family. They lived in a remote town off the main travelled road in a shanty in the woods. Most of the windows of the house were broken, the hens were unfed, the clothes stood unwashed in the tubs. After the death of his first wife, the father had persuaded the mother, who was then in Ireland, to marry him upon his statement that he was a wealthy farmer of Massachusetts. When she got here she learned of his deceit. When she took him to task he abused her as did the grown children of his first wife, and she had to work like a slave as his idleness increased with old age. After a time a man came along to board with them, an intimacy sprang up between them, the old man was sent to the Poor House and she lived with the boarder. The children looked wild and unkempt, they were not sent to school because they had neither clothing, regular meals, nor a parent who cared for

their education. The boarder was suspected of recent theft in the neighborhood and was known to have been guilty of indecent conduct with the oldest girl.

Picture to yourselves what children living and remaining under such conditions can become. Such neglect is not due to ignorance, it is clearly due to a low standard of ordinary physical morality. A community that will view such conditions with equanimity,—and there are communities in this commonwealth who are not stirred by conditions above portrayed,—will sink into a slough of pauperism, feeble-mindedness and crime from which it will reap the whirlwind.

A certain family consisting of father, mother and four children illustrates a still different form of neglect, *i. e.*, the neglect to provide suitable education and training. The father is earning \$24 a week. The mother worked out by the day to help pay for their piano. The eighteen-year-old daughter also worked regularly in a department store. The twelve-year-old girl and the eleven and eight-year-old boys took care of the house and got to school whenever it was convenient to do so. They had been absent a large number of times, and often were not wanted because of various skin and scalp diseases. The kitchen range was broken and the twelve-year-old was cooking the meal on an oil stove. Stale food stood around in various parts of the house. There were piles of soiled clothes lying about the rooms. A half dozen empty beer bottles were also in evidence. The judge of the local court granted a warrant for the father's arrest. He was found guilty of neglect of his children, was placed on probation on condition that his wife remain at home and that the children be properly cared for, cured of their neglect—diseases, and sent regularly to school. The improvement that has resulted is surprising.

This was one of those all too rare instances when the court perceived the problem of child neglect at its foundation. The parent was held responsible for the children's truancy, for their neglected condition, for their neglected home. Too frequently still our courts wait until conditions are so bad that the children must be removed from their homes to save them or so much as remains of them to be saved.

We have in some detail now considered the various forms of parental neglect. There are also certain forms of neglect that we are more apt to lay at the doors of our various communities, for we must often look to them to provide what is lacking in the home or what an individual family from the nature of things cannot provide.

The first of these forms of neglect is the neglect to provide opportunities for wholesome play. While there is a certain

measure of play possible at home, the play that is recreational, disciplinary and educational must be provided in a communal form. A community that does not provide such play under wise direction soon finds its boys and girls developing into rowdies and hoodlums. Fortunately supervised playgrounds are becoming every year more plentiful and between 300 and 400 cities are this year reported to have supervised playgrounds established.

But there is also need of educational and supervised amusements, especially for the adolescent boys and girls. The moving picture show is gradually emerging into a decent wholesome amusement but its setting is still questionable. It is frequently located in an objectionable part of the city and the associations that it is possible to form there are hazardous. Besides it does not supply the need for wholesome amusement in any large way. It is at present being overworked because there is so little else. The vaudeville is generally cheap and vulgar. The dance halls are frequently in lewd surroundings. Our communities must seek for some forms of amusement which will allow young people of both sexes to meet each other in a wholesome way. Dance halls and especially out of door dances that are managed under wholesome auspices and with stringent supervision come perhaps nearer to satisfy a great longing for normal amusement on the part of young people than anything else so far devised. The dangers connected with them are real, but our communities must invent and protect wholesome amusements.

There are other forms of community life that show negligence. The unaccompanied child, especially the young girl, in the cheap theatre and picture show is menaced, as she is also in fact on the way home from church Sunday nights. We are not pleading for a system of universal chaperonage or espionage; we are urging a more systematic protection against the dangers that are lurking by day and especially by night.

In spite of the breaches that divorce and club and apartment house life have made in the family as an institution, it is still the most important one to deal with human life and its problems. But the family is after all for service. It originated in its monogamous form for the sake of the child's development. The control of the parent over his child, which was formerly quite supreme, has in these later generations become subject to revision, to suspension and even in many flagrant instances to annulment. All through our court decisions the welfare of the child is being established as paramount in determining its control.

On the other hand, experts in child saving and child rearing

are increasingly commending the family home as the best means for developing the normal man or woman. If then we wish to do the best for the child, we are inevitably forced to place him in a new family home or to save or improve his own. The latter task will have increasing attention on the part of child saving agencies during the coming generation. Our communities will devise means to lay and enforce parental responsibility for legitimate and illegitimate children alike, and in its enforcement, state lines that now prove such insurmountable barriers, must in that respect cease to exist. Efficient probation and heavy penalties where probation fails, with work in the workhouse for the support of the dependent family, should make the throwing off of parental responsibility less attractive. Perhaps the state will learn to recognize the value of life, health and happiness to such an extent that it will make each illegitimate child, that as yet has but slight opportunities to enjoy its birthrights, definite wards of the state that both mother and child may have protection.

Our communities will learn to diminish the ravages of intemperance. The young inebriates will in large measure be cured, the "old soaks" will be segregated. The next generation will more promptly discover its feeble-minded and epileptic, and will segregate them for their own and the community's benefit and happiness.

Eugenics and Sex Hygiene, which are scarcely more than words for us at present, will have the serious thought and endeavor of social workers.

In addition to all this our courts and legislators will get a vision of the service that they can render by studying and interpreting various family problems from the standpoint of the welfare of the community. To do this legislators and courts must search for the fundamentals. Parents should not be allowed to consent to guardianship or adoption without an independent investigation by a competent person appointed by the court. Divorces and other proceedings involving the granting of custody of children, should not go by default, but each should be investigated by a similar competent officer before a decree is made. In these ways a measure of protection will be provided whose benefits it is hard to overestimate.

CHILD NURTURE AND EDUCATION IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

By REV. JOHN J. MCCOY, LL. D.

An educator of national and European reputation, one who stands with the very best of our day, made a visit to my parish school one day some months ago, and towards the end of the visit said to me: "Father, I was born a Protestant, I am a Protestant, and the chances are that I shall die a Protestant; but I wish to say to you here and now that I am a firm believer in the need of religious training in the school, and I am absolutely in favor of such phase of education."

These kindly words from so high a source were to me like a drink of sweet cold water to a man who lies parched from a long fight against odds and a thousand misconceptions of his motives, and they healed and strengthened like medicines.

I take it that I am speaking to a body of teachers, who wish to learn the Catholic viewpoint in the training of the child; and, since every good teacher knows that sympathy with the viewpoint taught is always necessary between teacher and pupil, and for the time being I am teacher and you pupils, you must courteously permit me that full freedom that would be mine, were I speaking to a Catholic body, otherwise there might be something lacking in the absolute candor which you and I are seeking for a complete understanding of the Catholic idea.

When the great educator whom I have quoted at the outset said "I am a firm believer in the need of religious training," he gave the motive that lies back of the building and the maintenance of every Catholic school. Nor is he alone in his belief. Other leaders who are not Catholic, in the educational world, in the literary world, and even in the Protestant pulpits, in some form or other seem to range themselves in line assuring us of the soundness of the Catholic view, and some go to the length of saying that this view must prevail, if our country with its Christian civilization is to endure. Let me recall for you what was said or written to this end in three of our great cities in the short space of six months, near to a dozen years ago.

Arthur W. Pierce, then head of Dean Academy, Franklin, this state, in an address before the Universalist Club at Boston

is thus reported in the Herald of that city, Feb. 14th, that year, 1898: "Education is getting more and more one-sided. We import educational theories as we do our fashions. Our theory may be good, but the result expected does not follow. On the side of ethical and moral training is the great failure of our education. The schools stand for intellectual development alone. Bigotry and sectarianism have driven from them every vestige of moral or religious training at a time when this training is increasingly shifted from home to Church." "The gang of Roxbury robbers arrested a few days since," continued Prof. Pierce, "were only schoolboys. Kelly, the Somersworth murderer; O'Neil of Shelburne Falls, and a host of other young criminals seem to have had bad tendencies intensified by such education as they have had. The most dangerous element in our municipal politics is the young politician trained in our public schools. Study Boston politics, and you will find much to learn of the want of a connection between intellect and morals." "In the colleges, also," Prof. Pierce said, "the emphasis is put solely on the intellectual. The morale of the American college is distinctly below that of young men of the same position in life outside. Cambridge has been humorously said to be composed of East Cambridge, Harvard College and the brickyard. Let the Cambridge officers tell where they have the most trouble."

That same winter, Amasa Thornton, in the North American Review, drew the eyes of the country on himself when he demanded as a safeguard of country that more religious instruction be given in the public schools. Anent this he pointed out in masterly fashion the glaring inadequacy of the religious training ordinarily given the American youth in his home, where the average parent confessedly lacks either the capacity, or the time, or the inclination to instruct, and where a short family service, or a shorter blessing at the meals is the sum total of the spiritual food given for the child's soul, and for the nourishment of the high principles, whereby we hope to see him grow into the Christian man and the good citizen. "I am firmly convinced," says Mr. Thornton, "that one of the greatest blunders that has been made in our country has been the failure to educate the American youth in Bible truths and teachings; and the result of such failure may bring disaster. The Catholic Church has insisted that it is its duty to educate the children of parents of the Catholic faith in such a way as to fix religious truths in the youthful mind. For this it has been assailed by the non-Catholic population, and the Catholics have been charged with being enemies of the people and of the flag. Any careful observer in the city of

New York can see that the only people, as a class, who are teaching the children in the way that will secure the future for the best civilization are the Catholics, and, although a Protestant of the firmest kind, I believe the time has come to recognize this fact and to lay aside religious prejudices and patriotically meet this question."

Even Protestant ministers see danger to the State in the ordinary education of the day, and, even if unconsciously, bear unmistakable evidences to the soundness of our position in the training of the Catholic child; for we do and have done for years, what they say must of necessity be done, if the State and civilization are to endure.

Said a minister, Mr. Goodspeed, in the First (Congregational) Church in Springfield, in June, the same year, while discussing the work of the Bible College, and regretting the inadequacy of religious training: "While man's body travels in the palace car, and his mind has acquired the nimbleness and speed of electricity, the child's religious training must not be typified by the slowness of the ox-cart." Walter Savage Landor said: "Society has put up a gallows at the end of the lane, when it ought to have put a guideboard at the beginning."

"We have many institutions which stand for the gallows, jails, prisons, poorhouses, penitentiaries. Indeed, it would seem that society had put the emphasis upon the gallows and not upon the guide-board. The larger those institutions are which are allied to the gallows, the greater is our confession of defeat, and the greater should be our humiliation as we stand in the presence of childhood.

"Is it not time for methods of prevention instead of agencies of restraint?

Is it not time to stop trying to cleanse the Connecticut River at the point where it rushes out into the sea, and get at and purify the fountain in the New Hampshire hills?

Religious teaching has been banished from our public schools, and largely from the home. This throws tremendous responsibility upon the church. A godless education will never save us from national destruction."

"It was a sad day when the Church (he means the Protestant church) lost sight of its mission as a teacher," the Springfield Republican reports the Rev. Dr. Moxom as saying, the same day in the same city, while speaking on the same theme: "The human mind turns for leadership to the Church, (we suppose he means the Congregational) but it turns in vain, the power of the church is broken." Then a little later he adds: "The teaching church must recognize the advances in all lines of effort and study. The church is per-

forming its preaching function fairly well, but not its teaching function. The Sunday-school has lost its old power, and has not gained its new. The church is losing its hold on the youthful mind. It must have men and women who can teach the Bible with modern methods, informed with all the light of modern life, and permeated with the spirit of Christ. All the shining fabrics of man's discovery will be vain if not permeated with the spirit of Christianity. This is the need of the hour, an adequate teaching force in the church."

Thank God we have no such wail to lift to heaven. We have the "Adequate teaching force in our Church." We have in the monasteries and the convents of our diocese "the men and women who can teach the Bible (holy tradition and the sciences as well) with modern methods, informed with all the light of modern life (and gloried past), and permeated with the spirit of Christ."

With us teaching is a divine call, a vocation, and therefore a life work. "Teaching," said the famous educator Fitch, "is the noblest of all professions, but it is the sorriest of trades, and nobody can succeed in it who does not throw his whole heart into it." Into it, as the work of God, go our whole heart and our whole soul. With us it is not a trade, or a make-shift, wherein well-bred and respectable people make a living while waiting "in the gloaming," and hoping for a change, but it is a deliberate bending of the shoulders for the everlasting carrying of the cross of Christ.

O, the miracle that is ever going on around us. A handful of weak women depending for food and plain raiment on the good-will of others, go into the world to force states to make room for God in the schools. Against them is vast political power and almost illimitable means. But they conquer. Against the disciples was the philosophy of the Greeks, and the all-surpassing material power of the Romans.

But Greek culture and Roman prowess could not withstand the Word of God, and both were pushed by.

When we are asked for our commission to teach and for the time of our warrant, we point to the mountain whereon the risen Christ stood, His eyes sweeping all the horizons of the world, and answer: that day, when He bade the disciples "go and teach."

What is the Catholic idea of the child? Inasmuch as he is man we say he is matter and spirit. No one questions the absoluteness of this definition. But we may for our purpose be permitted to go a little beyond this, and stretching the definition somewhat, speak of him as a trinity of powers. He has in him the animal, the human, and the divine. The first is

of the earth, earthy; the second by nature reaches towards heaven; while the last is the very breath of God.

Right education of the child must have to do with all three. Look after the animal in him only, and we have a sentient brute; teach him the fullest use of his nerves and muscles and impelling mind alone, and you have a bully, who now and then lifts head into the skies, but, straightway the flash of light is over, comes back to earth again and soon forgets the beauty of the higher world he saw. But reach down to all his powers, while you work with soft fingers upon his soul; teach it to expand, allure it to the consciousness and then to the use of its wings, and lo! the lighted soul lifts the whole man into the clear cool ether, where triumphantly above lands and seas, he sweeps up to heaven in all the native majesty of his likeness to God.

We teach, therefore, that he who forgets God in the child, makes grievous mistake; and who tries to find for the growing man a motive for conduct outside the idea of God, chases a will-o-the-wisp only to sink to darkness and death at the end. We Catholics believe that religion alone gives real and adequate motive, and that nothing else can. We are well aware that men seek for something else, and when least God-fearing seek the most; but the very wisest in all the ages have only sought,—they have never found. Scholars have learned, past a peradventure, that while at intervals in the Christian ages, the Gospel laws have seemed to lose their controlling power in the education of the man, the day always comes when

“ Their eclipse is o’er,
They rule the world again.”

The bringing out of the likeness of God is the end sought first and last in our training. There is, however, no forgetting or neglecting of the humanities, all the man, mind, and will, and heart, we say, must be trained, and fair men who know our work, say our work is good,—yet it is the soul we look for always beyond all else.

Were I hopeful of preserving in marble a noble and beautiful head of one dear to me, I would not give the carving of it to an ordinary stone cutter, be he ever so skillful in everyday work; I would choose for the realizing of my love, one, who so mixed soul and sense, that all the world would call him divinely touched, a sculptor; and if I wished a jewelled sword-hilt for a hero, I would never intrust its making to a blacksmith, wrought he ever so skillfully. By this I do not wish it inferred that other teachers than ours always lack delicacy in their work with the child. That were absolutely untrue. I have known hundreds and hundreds who are forever conscious that they work upon priceless things, but there are those, too, who look

upon teaching as respectable labor, and we would not be satisfied with such. You may see, therefore, what we hope to do with the child, from consideration of the manner of man or women we would permit to teach him.

Some years ago my bishop bade me speak to a body of religious teachers, and I said this, and I can say nothing better now. "No man here below can win more honorable title than he wins who deserves to be called a teacher. Time will be, when every dear title we love, be it warrior, chief, master, ruler, prince, or, if taken in the narrower sense—even priest, will shine in a dim light across from the splendid radiance of this. After all, can you call up any one of these which does not in some way embody the teacher? When men stood amazed at the wonderful personality of our Lord, and when they had seen over and over again, the manifestations of His marvellous power and wisdom, and had confessed that His like had never appeared before in the tide of times, the name they gave Him from all the names of earth was the "Great Teacher." You are of His tribe, and have His name. You are the teachers in the New Israel. On your brows and on your lips have flamed the sacred fires of the Holy Spirit in vocation, and so, were you consecrated to carry on His work in all the years of the world. The reason for your life is the reason for His coming—the moral regeneration of mankind, perfected in the building up of the Kingdom of God in the hearts of the little ones. Who loses sight of all this as the supreme end of all her labors is not a true teacher. A teacher is not, as many appear to think, a mere instructor, but an educator. And, an educator is one who draws out and rightly trains all the powers, physical, mental and moral that are native to the child. Nuns and monks in the ages gone saved learning to the world, but for the mere preservation or imparting of learning to-day, monks and nuns are needed no more. If the gathering up of knowledge is all we have right to look for in the school, then with other men I hold, that there is no room here for such as you. All the sacrifices made by you and the people,—you with the blood of your warm young hearts, and they with their means,—are vain and profitless; vain and profitless as the cloud shadows which this hour outside are chasing across the waving grasses of this plain. But if, as well as mind, heart and will must be trained; if character, which has life in fixed principles and controlled will, must be built up; if, as we believe, man is dual natured, has in him things of heaven as well as things of earth, then it is folly to dream that all is done, when eye and mind have taken in the glories of sun and sea and wood and stream and sky, and the heart in their natural joys rests satisfied.

"We must teach the young soul to be eternally aspiring. We must hold the young eyes, like the eaglet's, to the Sun of Justice, till the child learns to look, of his own strength, open-eyed at the splendors of God, and grows to sigh perpetually for his true home, the country of paradise."

"Who can do this like monks and nuns? They are in the world but not of it, *segregati ab hominibus*, they have parted from the multitude, of their own free will, and have gone up the mountain side near to heaven. On the rocks they sit forever facing God. Every child that comes to their knees learns to lift his eyes fearlessly to the clear empyrean where his gentle teacher's eyes are always resting."

"Because of your high mission yours should be beyond all others skilled labor. St. Ignatius clearly recognized this when he thought of founding his great teaching order. He knew, says the author of Loyola, before he can teach men, or mould teachers of men, or even conceive the first idea of legislating for the intellectual world, he must himself first learn. There are two fundamental lessons which he does learn and they go to form him. One is that, among all pursuits, the study of virtue is supreme; the other, that, supreme as virtue is, yet, without secular learning, the highest virtue goes unarmed, and at best is profitable to oneself alone." "Granted as much native talent in you as in others, you should surpass. You have not in your lives the distraction of family or society's interests; the tyranny of fashion is not yours; the hopes that sway other hearts and disturb them forever are not your concern. Your convent walls assure you heart's-ease, and when the life lived there is high and holy, like the fair face of a lake between mountains, it shall have everlasting calm.

"Your school, where as in a workshop, you are daily building and fashioning the stature and beauty of your own and other souls, is of necessity always with you. You may never hope to lay aside at the close of day, as others are advised, the cares of the schoolroom with its key. Your life-work belongs there, there it is, in the fires of its thousand sacrifices, that you hope to refine away the dross of motive, and under God's direction, transmute every effort into reddest gold."

The German scholars say that a man should begin his life from the shoulders of his father. By that they mean that we should be saved the ruin and loss of false methods tried long ago and found wanting, and should be put down on the road of life to begin unhampered where our sires had finished. There is incalculable loss continually of time and means in the ill-advised, tentative work of our school-men, who in their race for new things run on to many old errors, and take them to their hearts with wordy zeal for new trials. Many of the

fires of school life to-day are fed and fanned by fad. With one there is no heaven for the poor teacher except through the system of vertical handwriting; for another the road is through water colors splashed plentifully and near which a child scrawls "this is a hen" or "this is Jack and the beanstalk;" for another there is liberation only when she has waded up to the neck through the wastes of experimental psychology; for another there is need of being born again, and this time in a town other than the one in which she hopes to teach; and, Oh, the wonder of it! the newest clamor is for moral training "religion" they call it, but "religion without dogma," "broad" religion they say; yes, so broad that it disperses itself and can be found only as the scientists find argon, the new atmospheric element, after long searching, special training, and with the aid of the most extraordinary natural gifts for discovery. And this last the "moral" or "religious" phase is really an unwilling, begrudged conceding of the truth of our position, and a half dishonest, and wholly vain attempt at compromise. "It is a remarkable fact," writes the learned Abbe Hogan in the Catholic Quarterly Review of January, 1889, "that the periods of history most devoid of religious belief have been invariably the most busy with moral theories. The greatest teachers of antiquity, Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, flourished at a time when all faith in the gods had well nigh vanished from cultivated minds. Many centuries later, in England and in France, the decline of Christianity was a signal for a fresh efflorescence of ethical speculations, and in our own times, not only does the decay of supernatural religion coincide visibly with a growing concern to determine the true laws of life, but the same men seem impelled to labor with equal earnestness to bring about both objects. None of our modern writers assumes a loftier moral tone than Harrison, Arnold, or Huxley, whilst such men as Stuart Mill, Spencer, Greg, etc., who have done so much to destroy all Christian faith, have devoted much time and thought to the reconstruction of a system of ethics on other foundations." We need not go far afield for the reason. In some dim way all men, or all good men, no matter how absorbed with the interests of mine and market, with the whirr of the wheels in the shop and factories, with the breathings of the mighty engines in our ships and on our railroads, no matter how consumed with the hunger for books and knowledge, or rapt out of self by the soft glory of art and music, every one, who is concerned with the general progress of civilization, feels and feels always, the abiding truth in the words, which Matthew Arnold so loved to repeat:- "Conduct is four-fifths of life," and every man therefore, is knowingly or unknow-

ingly, teaching that man's highest good is to learn his duty. Everybody knew his duty in the ages of faith, hence we hear very little from the fathers about a moral philosophy. The sacred books of the Old and New Testaments were the law, and the saints were the heroes. With the children of the faith this still is true; but where faith is lost, the question and the search is yet as perplexing and unsatisfying as it was to the sages of the old days. And so it will be; and men will go on seeking and evolving, only to acknowledge sadly at the end of their days, that they have been blind.

Outside the law of Christ, the wisest men are in confusion, when they try to give us the fundamental principles of moral life. And see how they run hither and thither. The day before yesterday it was Buddha with the peaceful mystics among us; and yesterday it was new France, with her man-made charts; to-day, men are asked to kowtow to the new Japan, that comes up in the midst of the nations of the world like the rosy Venus from the sea—a thing of beauty, for worship, for soft lisplings of admiration, and for the strewing of the world with cherry blossoms.

Travellers tell us the cherry blossom ends its life in the bloom. The fruitage never comes. Apt symbol is this of the inadequacy of every system of ethics outside our own revelation,—most of the beauty dies in the promise.

Our system escapes the most of this, and saves us time and heart-consuming experimentation. We have advantage in this—the ordinary lay teacher takes his learning and much of his excellence into the grave. Nearly all goes into the clay. Not so with us. An old saying has it, that the Pope never dies, which means the enduring of the teaching, and the energizing, and the governing spirit in our church. And we may add the teaching nun never dies. Pius, or Leo, or Sister Agnes, or Sister Clare may die, but the Sisters of Notre Dame, or Saint Joseph, or Providence, like Tennyson's brook runs on forever. We have, therefore, not ten years, or twenty, or threescore with their experiences, failures or triumphs—to nourish our teaching power, but we may draw when we please the gates that open the mighty reservoirs of our two hundred years and more, and back of that again the seas of twenty centuries since the Christian schools began.

Our work in modern parlance is 'team' work, self is lost in the general good sought. The teacher we say must have zeal, consuming zeal in effort for excellent work, but she must be careful to never let the shadow of self-glorification cloud the lightness of it. It is said that Michael Angelo always worked with a lighted candle in the peak of his cap to prevent

the shadow of his own body falling upon his work, and Angelo's work is called divine.

The Jesuits say that every man should teach his class as if all the honor of the society depended solely upon him. This thought dignifies the work of the least of the teachers. It keeps every teacher conscious of her great responsibility. Every one of them knows that she has a hand in doing that which is greater than the building of Saint Peter's,—the fashioning of a man or woman's character.

Some years ago in Rome I went to the Atelier of a famous sculptor. All Rome was ringing with his praise, and I was fortunate enough to be shown the marvellous work by the sculptor himself. Beautiful statuary in single pieces and in groups was everywhere in the place, and so cunningly had the master wrought, that I readily understood the naturalness of the old Greek legend, where the youth Pygmalion is enamored with the divine loveliness of the marble maiden, which his own beauty-loving soul has conceived, his hands given shape, and the fires of his affection afterwards kindles into life and love; for I would hardly have been surprised if some of the curved lips near me had broken into speech. I wondered how a man could perfect all the work before me even in the longest life-time, and my wonder grew as I thought, for the master was yet young. Afterwards I went with him to the workshops and lo! there was the mystery solved. Three scores of men, with hammers beating merrily,—hammers heavy, to which brawny men put all the power of shoulders like those of Hercules, and hammers light, so light, that the sound of their fall was like the chirping of birds,—were working away in a cloud of snowy dust and flying pieces of the marble as men at home might work in a gentle snowfall. Finally, he came to a giant block just brought in from the heart of the hills, "This," said he, "is to be a Columbus for your country;" and, as he spoke, he rapidly sketched a noble outline of the great Genoese. In a few moments six sturdy men with mighty sledges began the preliminary work. I went again for days and for weeks and saw it grow into almost instinct life. Never did I find the same men working the second day; new men and new tools met me with the new morning. But every man seemed master of his allotted work, and every eye beamed enthusiastically at nightfall, when the great sculptor said "well done." One day I found men quietly polishing with bits of stone instead of tools, and after that with the bared human hand, till the great Admiral stood before me strong, and true, and noble, with his great eyes telling of things his genius found beyond the stars and past the ken and vision of other men.

Every child is the statue in the block, but not alone the statue. There is beyond the cold, chaste beauty of the stone the awful powers of a flaming soul. What shall I make, said the Greek, a vase, a satyr or a god? I shall make, said his swelling soul, a god, a Jupiter, nay, a Jupiter thundering, 'Jupiter tonans.'

So say we in the presence of every new child, what shall we make? And we are wise when we answer, we shall make a god. Every child has in him the man with the mighty energies resultant from his heredity, and the labors and inclinations of cycles of unnumbered years, and the activities of his race of a thousand forebears. All is gathered up in his surcharged soul, like the lightning of heaven is stored in our power houses. It waits but the lightest touch of the teacher on the soul, and all the terrible forces of destruction, flashing, writhing, and blasting, are liberated; or the same forces are controlled and conducted into proper channels, and we are carried over the ocean, or beyond the mountains, up and down our streets, and the night is lighted for us, and friends speak to us across seas and lands, and food is provided, and warmth and joy, and all the beneficence of rightly directed power.

As the statue passed from workman to workman, but always under the watchful care of the master, so passes the child from grade to grade. Every one in the line had equal share in the completed statue, and so with teachers in the graduate. If at any time in the advance, through ignorance, carelessness or sullenness an ill-directed blow was given, the beautiful symmetry could not have been preserved. The first man with the sledge, as well as he who used his naked palm had equal share in the work, and all came eventually to the glory of the sculptor. The teacher of the first grade with us, and she of the last, equally has to do with the rounded and beautiful woman, who is before us for our delight at graduation, and with the young, strong man, who like Gareth in the lay of the "table round" stands with heart aflame eager to

'Follow the Christ, the King,
Live pure, speak true, right wrong, follow the King
Else wherefore born.'

And we actually are forever seeking for the Catholic child the best thing in the world. And "what is that"? asks and answers Mrs. Browning, and we shall be satisfied with her words. She reaches all that seems best, then tells us what is really best in the world—something out of it.

"What's the best thing in the World?
June-rose, by May-dew impearled;
Sweet south wind that means no rain;

Truth, not cruel to a friend;
Pleasure, not in haste to end;
Beauty, not self-decked and vain
Till its pride is over-plain;
Light that never makes you blink;
Memory, that gives no pain;
Love, when, so, you 're loved again.
What 's the best thing in the world?
Something out of it I think."

THE PROBLEM OF THE REFORM SCHOOL

By H. W. CHARLES

There are in the United States according to the latest report of the Commissioner of Education, 105 institutions for juvenile delinquents, with a population of 51,871. These figures, while probably not exact as to either the number of institutions or the population, may still be regarded as approximately correct. These institutions last year had property valued at \$31,000,000 and expended during the same period approximately \$7,000,000. The same report shows that in a single year the population in these institutions increased 40%, and the cost of maintaining the same increased 30%. These figures likewise may not be exact, but they serve as a close approximation not only to the enormity of juvenile delinquency, but to the enormous increase in the number of delinquents, and the cost of caring for them. True the increase in delinquency as shown by these figures may be apparent rather than real, but the truth remains that there is to be found in the United States an enormous and increasing population in our juvenile reformatories, now commonly called "Industrial Schools."

The boys and girls in these institutions represent a vast amount of undirected, or misdirected energy. The drain upon the resources of the state, direct and indirect, in restraining and controlling and directing the inmates of these institutions is very great. Of the various classes dependent upon the bounty of the state, none offers a more promising field than the young delinquent. The insane may be cured, but only for a few declining years of life. The feeble minded may be improved, but at best they must remain unproductive consumers or become barely self-supporting. But in the case of the delinquent it is different. He is full of vigor, throbbing with life and energy. The need is that this energy be properly directed. The same arm that strikes down may be taught to build up. The same skill that cracks a safe may construct an engine. To divert this energy into proper channels, to direct this social and economic waste into productive fields is one of the many problems that modern social forces are called upon to solve. We may eliminate from our consideration for the time being, the home with all its influence for

good, the school with its good qualities and bad, the church with its possibly waning influence, the juvenile court with its probation and indeterminate sentence, for in the case of the 51,000 boys and girls in our institutions, these agencies have exhausted their resources without avail. These youths are the social derelicts, the waste products of existing social and economic conditions. Whether justly or unjustly, whether through admitted weakness of other factors or in spite of faultless efforts, these youths are committed to the juvenile reformatory despaired of by home, church, school and court. These forces with all their resources and growing efficiency have failed utterly, disastrously if not hopelessly, in the case of this number of our juvenile population. They must yield their vantage ground for the time being and be directed, if serving at all, by another agency. That agency is the reform school, and this is "the problem of the reform school."

The problem is complicated by the fact that while these institutions are schools in name and should be in fact, they are not an integral part of the public school system. They are in no manner a result of any process of evolution of the public school system, but on the other hand had their origin in the breaking away from the penal institutions of half a century ago. The minds of men and women revolted at the prevalent custom of herding youthful delinquents with hardened criminals, the result of which was a separation of the two classes, although the conditions under which the youthful criminal now existed did not greatly differ from the conditions under which the adult criminal lived. A mere separation of the classes was a long step, but for many years no further advancement was made. Whatever may have been the growth of these institutions, they derived whatever methods they had from the prisons from which they sprang, and they have not yet freed themselves from the taint of their prison origin.

Notwithstanding this fact great improvements have been made in the institutions of this type, and while we are far from having reached the ideal, the institutions of even a quarter of a century ago appear crude when compared with the later models of to-day. Stone walls have given way to open grounds and the essentials of a modern home have taken the place of barred doors and grated windows.

The character of the pupils found in these institutions has changed in recent years owing to the sifting out process of the juvenile court, and the closer application of the various child-saving agencies. Children now found in the institutions are less responsive to efforts for their redemption, and as a result more effective measures must be employed, or the results will be less apparent than in the past.

It is but natural that any individual by constantly directing his thought to one problem should magnify the importance of that subject; in the present instance, however, I do not believe the indictment will hold. I do not believe the men and women who are engaged in dealing with the delinquent have over-estimated the magnitude or importance of their work, or have been over zealous in its exploitation. On the other hand in this "century of the child" when child-saving agencies were never more active nor efficient, when the interest in the child is widespread, when the motto is so frequently quoted "a home for every child and a child for every home," those most intimately associated with the problem of delinquency are made to feel that a child once in the industrial school is abandoned by practically every other agency. The child has been indicted, tried, condemned and sentenced to the reform school, and there their interest ends. This attitude was rather crudely but aptly stated in a recent letter from a juvenile court in which the judge said in referring to one of his charges "I have washed my hands of the whole affair."

There are many of these same people who with the very best intentions reason by some sort of vague philosophy that the reform school is in some way responsible for the delinquency of its own population. This is ungenerous since the failure of these same people is the thing that brought the child to the institution. In fact the population in our schools for delinquents is a measure of the failure of other agencies, and is in no sense a measure of the failure of the reform school, however great that may be. I would not say that the increasing population of schools for delinquents marks increasing failure on the part of child-saving agencies, but the general proposition holds that the industrial school is not the first aid to the injured but is the forlorn hope, the *dernier resort*—and begins only where others have ended in failure.

The specific problem of the reform school then is to reclaim the wayward child. The conditions under which the problem is to be solved differ from conditions under which the problem is solved by other agencies. The child in a reformatory institution may or may not differ from the child in the home, but the child is appealed to through the same channels as the child in the home.

The population of my own school is made up of one-tenth of one per cent. of the school population of the state. It includes a few boys from good homes, more from fair homes, but most of the boys come from the homes of the improvident. Many possess well marked stigmata of physical degeneracy, some approach feeble mindedness, while fixed moral convictions are rarely found. One of the greatest needs of the young

delinquent in or out of the institution, and consequently one of the factors of the problem of reclamation, is systematic physical training. In many cases the body of the young delinquent is ill developed through lack of proper nourishment, indolent habits, cigarette smoking and other vices, for all of which nothing is better than properly directed physical exercise.

Most reformatory institutions are equipped with facilities for this training, and many of them employ men or women especially fitted for the work. One hour's exercise in gymnasium by all who are physically able, under the direction of a competent instructor, is provided in many schools. A graded course of instruction is essential, and this need not differ from like courses in other institutions, but of necessity must be directed with greater skill and a keener insight into the specific needs of the individual child. Marked physical defects are to be cured by wisely suggested exercises. Even in the case of boys who are fairly well developed physically, they have led such lives of shiftlessness and indolence that they do not know their own powers. The newly acquired ability to use their untried muscles, and to do what they did not know they were capable of doing brings to their view a new phase of life which extends beyond the limits of their physical activity, and through the power of association increases their mental grasp and moral courage.

I have in mind a boy possessed of fairly good physique but who approached feeble mindedness. His instructor assigned him an exercise that was easily within the reach of a normal boy of his strength. Each time he would begin the exercise with a look of determination on his face, but at the critical moment his courage would fail. He was anxious to succeed, but every effort ended in failure, not because of any difficulty in the exercise but through lack of courage and motor control. The case aroused my interest. If all his efforts ended in failure harm to the boy would result. But when at last by one supreme effort he succeeded in the simple test a look of confidence and courage came to his face that had been a stranger before. Such experiences as this, though differing greatly in degree, are much more marked in the case of delinquents than in work with normal children. If well directed physical training is important in the case of the normal child, of much greater importance is it in the case of the delinquent.

Another problem that is of supreme importance in institutions for delinquents, is the development of habits of industry. Efforts in this direction are handicapped by the utter lack of training on the part of shiftless and improvident parents in most cases, though sometimes by inherent qualities of mind

and body that are antagonistic to all forms of effective effort. In either case the problem becomes one of the individual boy. The general proposition holds good, however, that every boy should have something to do every waking hour. What this effort is, is not important. In any well conducted industrial school there is much labor that can be performed by the boys, some of which is attractive while much is uninviting. The unattractive is necessary and possesses much economic and disciplinary value. The boy may here learn for the first time that he must bear his part of the toil and labor that is necessary for his comfort and well being. This labor is directed by a skilled overseer, and the boy is required to do it in the best possible manner, not once but every day. It may be drudgery but it is a part of the price he must pay for the better things. That every day has its work and every hour of every day its task must be well understood by the young malefactor, and the habit of doing what comes to his lot must become a fixed habit.

In time a spirit of pride in doing well even the uninviting task will become a stimulus to greater skill. Social workers know how discouraging these efforts sometimes become and how success is despaired of.

In the industrial school the training is carried on under more favorable conditions than elsewhere, and this may lead to results more palpable and well defined. This training is essential and becomes doubly valuable when skill and the habit of application become such that the boy is placed in some occupation that appeals to him more strongly. Here the same attention to details is necessary, and the same degree of effort is required.

By patient and persistent effort most children may be led into the formation of habits of industry that will form the basis of economic independence. Vocational training at the time a boy or girl enters the reformatory institution is of doubtful value. Such a child is better fitted for such instruction when ready to leave the institution rather than when he enters it. This training should follow the formation of habits of industry and after arousing a commendable pride in his industrial and economic efforts. When this condition is reached there is no longer need of his detention in a reformatory institution.

Notwithstanding this, some very excellent results in vocational training have been reported, especially in eastern schools and in manufacturing districts, where the labor of skilled workmen is in demand. Vocational training proper must remain a secondary consideration in reformatory institutions, as they are now established.

The boy or girl who comes to the industrial school because of the conditions just mentioned, is devoid of the sense of the value of property. To him a dollar is only a chance to get something that will satisfy a physical want, real or imaginary, and in the effort to supply this want he soon parts with his money. There is little or no conception of the economic value of money or property. This, of course, is true of many children, but almost universally true of the delinquent. Institutions dealing with this class are greatly handicapped in their effort to develop a sense of the value of property, for the reason that the institutions supply all the needs of their pupils, adding many comforts not found in the ordinary home. So popular has the idea become that the efficiency of an institution is measured by the nearness of its approach to the luxury of a modern home. Even a dull boy is smart enough to know that all these comforts are his whether he works or not.

Sometimes we believe our institutions have gone too far in providing luxuries, and that the boys and girls sent out from them would be better prepared for life if they had fewer of the luxuries, and these few as a reward for honest effort. Between the degree of austerity which is for the greatest good of the malefactors, and an over-sensitive public which may not always be the embodiment of wisdom, the institution dealing with the delinquent has an exceedingly difficult problem. In some institutions a system of merits based upon money value has been devised. In return for the gaining of a certain number of merits certain privileges are granted or objects of economic value are given in return. This plan may not be productive of marked results but there are few objections to be urged against it.

Some schools have introduced individual gardens and have encouraged the boys or girls by giving them a stipulated price for all products, and at the same time have taught them habits of saving, thus opening the way to the formation of economic habits. Theoretically this principle is correct, but we have seen a great deal of very poor farming under these conditions, and with such indifferent methods economic independence is a long ways off. The genius of a Wm. R. George may not be found in the industrial school superintendent, and the development of the property sense may for this and other reasons be a matter of slow growth. The results of whatever methods may be employed may be in a measure neutralized by conditions which are inevitable in institution life. The recent movement in New York and other localities to reduce the size of the family unit, and segregate these units by scattering them over a wide area, will bring about conditions that

will greatly promote the development of the methods mentioned, but while there remain in the United States only a few institutions on the congregate plan the family units in most of our institutions are so large that they are little removed from the congregate system.

The further evolution of the so-called "Cottage System," which is inevitable but which requires time, will simplify many of the social and economic problems, and render the remedial measures much more effective.

In too many of our institutions, and this is especially true of the newer states, partisan politics and a low per capita cost are potent factors that must be reckoned with. When the quickened public conscience will drive from all institutions the charlatan of partisan politics, the returns from the expense and efforts of our industrial schools will be greatly enhanced.

The boy or girl committed to an industrial school is regarded, and justly so as a rule, as in rebellion in some degree against the social order. Much of this defiance, however, is more apparent than real. The inborn savage instincts of the child at this period must find some field for their activities. The child must give vent to his animal spirits, and this at a time when there is little response to any appeals to his moral sense or understanding. The simplest restraint seems to him unjust. The only trouble he gets into is "getting caught." The naturally rebellious nature of the child at this time calls for persistent restraint. Appeals to his better nature should not be overlooked, but with his rebellious anti-social nature he must know that it is "thus far and no farther." By slow infiltration there will come an automatic obedience to authority. This may not be a conscious recognition of the sense of obedience to law but it forms a substantial basis for the building up of character.

These facts hold good whatever be the circumstances under which a boy is placed, but the necessary discipline is secured under more favorable conditions in the industrial school than under any conceivable condition elsewhere. Retributive punishment, not severe, but certain and bearing a palpable relation to the offense, must in time bring about a wholesome respect for authority, and obedience to law will become not alone a fixed habit of action, but a settled principle of conduct.

The industrial school has probably not kept pace with the development of organized play activities, and in too many instances the play of the children is without direction, the only provision made being a place to play and that not always of the best. Spontaneity in play is most important, but the play of delinquents needs directing even more than the play of the normal child. So much has been written of the value

of playgrounds, and of the importance of well directed play, that it is not necessary for me to do more than refer to its importance in the institution. The cleanest kind of clean athletics, and the manliest kind of manly sport is of paramount importance to counteract the crap shooting propensity of the delinquent and neglected child, whose only lesson of play has been learned on the street or up the back alley.

Unless there is a central directing head to the play activities in the institution there is great danger of the play spirit falling to a plane but little above the former environment. The average family manager finds a multitude of duties to take up his time, even if he were qualified to be a leader of the boys' sports. Such a leadership is rarely found, and even if it were more common the results would be extremely uncertain. So fruitful a field for training and character forming requires a leadership of the highest order.

The key to the heart of a delinquent child is the same as that of the normal child, that is sympathy, some one to love him, enter into his plans and ambitions, and be a sharer of his joys and sorrows. The neglect of this means of character building in institutions for delinquents has not been greater than the neglect outside of the institutions. We also believe that in this day of serious, thoughtful consideration of the child problem in, as well as out, of the institutions, the industrial schools will be more than ready to keep abreast of the best that is recommended in the development of the playground movement.

I have referred to the relation of the industrial school to other child-saving agencies. Some criticism may be implied in what I have said. I believe this criticism is well taken. The attitude of Home Finding societies and like organizations has not always been friendly. They have criticised the institutions because the boys and girls were not placed in homes. Some have not hesitated to say that any home is better than an institution. An individual or organization that will assume such an attitude is not only unkind and unfair, but is ignorant of the problem that the reform school is obliged to face. They are ignorant first of the character of the men and women who are at the head of these institutions. Taking this great number of workers as a whole I believe there is no more sincere, conscientious and hardworking body of men and women engaged in child saving efforts than they.

The curse of politics and the slow action of legislative bodies upon which the institution depends for supplying its material needs, is not the fault but the misfortune of the heads of the institutions. The bond of sympathy existing between the industrial school and those in its charge is as marked and

as productive of good results as the bond existing between the agent of a home finding society and the charges under his care. The letters received from the paroled pupils of industrial schools are as full of gratitude, love and sympathy, as any published letter exploiting the work of any Home Finding Society.

These people are ignorant in the second place of the character of inmates of our reformatory institutions. It is not within the limits of this paper to discuss the character of the inmates of these institutions, but there is much physical and moral degeneracy, there are many border line cases in the industrial schools, and the problem of the reform school brings us face to face with these conditions. The relation of these conditions to delinquency challenges the best thought in child study and child psychology.

The criticism I have made may not be warranted in individual cases, and may not characterize the body as a whole, made up as it is of most worthy even if sometimes mistaken men and women. I only speak whereof I know. I would myself be open to just criticism if I should say these people were wholly wrong and the others wholly right. That is not the point at issue. The point I wish to make is that there should be no rivalry between the reformatory institution and these organizations. No human soul should be lost while we are quarreling over the best method of saving it. Let us save the child first and then together rejoice in our victory.

The problem of the reform school is a difficult one, but in its relation to other agencies, institutions and organizations "each needs the help of the other," and it stands ready with its army of patient, conscientious workers to co-operate with them in discovering the good that is in the bad boy or girl in the generous spirit of Christian sympathy and love for the unfortunate, as well as for the unloved and unlovable.

I wish to mention one other matter of special interest to the institutions, but in a wider sense of importance to all that relates to child study. This is the need of a uniform system of child study in the institutions themselves. It is true that much valuable study has been made in these institutions, but usually this has been done by those not associated with the institutions. These studies have usually been made from insufficient data, and not infrequently with the view to establish some ready-made theory rather than with a view to secure unquestioned data.

The population of these institutions forms a vast army of children whose lives in some phase or another are atypical. They are in the institution as a rule for a considerable period. They are here under the most favorable conditions for daily

and hourly observation. The officials of these institutions are men and women of education and are skilled observers of the children under their charge. Heretofore there has been no uniform nor strictly scientific method of observing and recording data. Each superintendent has done a little, a few have done much, but the data secured have not been uniform and hence of comparatively little value.

INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE AND ITS RELATION TO CHILD WELFARE

By LEE K. FRANKEL, Ph. D.

The relation of child welfare to industrial insurance has been the subject of discussion at various occasions during the past fifty years and, strange as it may seem, generally to the apparent discredit of the latter. It is one of the anomalies, both of insurance history and of child welfare history, that practically since the introduction of so-called industrial insurance into England, well-meaning men and women have taken occasion to condemn the insurance of children, and, in particular of infants, on the general charge that such insurance tended to the neglect of children and even to their destruction. It is the anomaly of history, I repeat, that such charges have been made, with no statistical data of any kind to substantiate them. There is no literature extant containing discussion on this subject which contains anything but general and vague statements which are no more than the impressions of individuals.

The student of the subject is met with difficulties in attempting to trace the origin of these charges. Industrial insurance began in England under the auspices of the Prudential Assurance Company of London as early as 1848. It is significant that as early as 1854 the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Friendly Societies' Bill reported that:

"Your Committee draw from the evidence adduced before them this conclusion, that the instances of child murder where the motive of the criminal has been to obtain money from a burial society are so few as by no means to impose upon Parliament an obligation, for the sake of public morality, to legislate specially with a view to the prevention of that crime.

"Your Committee refer to the evidence to show that no sufficient grounds exist for the general suspicion which seems to have been entertained on this subject. They believe that suspicion to have been almost entirely founded on the few cases brought to trial, exaggerated by the horror with which the idea of a crime so heinous would naturally be regarded."

Similarly the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies in England and Wales, in his report for 1894, states:

"Upon considering the evidence adduced before all these committees and the Friendly Society Commissioners, I do not think it has materially altered the conclusion at which the Committee of 1854 arrived. During the forty years since that date very many millions of children of the working classes have been insured in burial societies or industrial insurance companies, and the cases in which malpractices have been proved are exceedingly few. Child murder for burial money does not prevail to an extent which calls for legislative interference any more in 1894 than in 1854."

It is to be noted that in the report of the 1854 Committee, mention is not made of insurance companies but of burial societies. These organizations, insured not only legitimate children, but, to some extent, insured illegitimate children as well. While there is no proof to show that the high ratio of deaths in the latter group was due to the fact that the children were insured, it is possible that the unsubstantiated charge above referred to arose through the fact that mortality among illegitimate children was higher than those born in wedlock.

Whatever the cause and whatever may have been the underlying reason for the peculiar charge against burial societies and subsequently against industrial insurance, the fact remains that the belief in the injurious influence of insurance so far as infants were concerned, was not abated by the reports of governmental investigations, such as the one above referred to. Even as late as 1906, at the meeting of the National Conference on Infant Mortality held at Westminster, a paper presented by Councillor W. Fleming Anderson contained an expression of opinion of the writer that the present system of infant insurance, whereby an individual may receive a sum of money on the death of his offspring, was altogether wrong, although Mr. Anderson modifies his opinion by stating that it is evident that those who insure are not the thriftless, the criminal or the lower classes. It is timely to record at this point that in the discussion which followed the above paper, Dr. Mearns Fraser stated that he had been of the opinion that infant insurance had a great deal to do with infant mortality. From figures which he had collected carefully for a year he had come to the conclusion that it had nothing whatever to do with the rate of mortality. Similarly Dr. S. Davies, of Woolwich, contended that infant life insurance was not a serious factor in infant mortality and that unless the Conference was prepared to say that infants should be buried at public expense, infant life insurance was necessary. Miss Lovibond, an inspector, stated that

the largest mortality was increasingly among infants under three months of age and her experience was that insurance companies did not pay benefits for children who died under three months of age. She thought it was an injustice to hard-working parents to say that the insurance of their children was going to lessen their care of the children.

The discussion which has taken place in England for the past fifty years has been given here in detail for the reason that its counterpart has been found in the United States. There are still to be found among well-meaning people, among legislators and even among social workers, the impression that child insurance works to the detriment of the child.

For the sake of historical accuracy, I mention here the fact that the question of child insurance has been thrashed through by the legislatures of the more important states of the Union and that after careful discussion and investigation the conclusion of the English Committee of 1854 has been sustained, namely, that insurance is not prejudicial to the lives of children any more than it is to the lives of adults. With the exception of one state, all the states in the Union have placed on their statute books legislation permitting the insurance of the children of their respective citizens.

The subject might be permitted to rest here were it not for the fact that instead of being an injury to children, it can be readily demonstrated that, if anything, insured children live longer than those who are not insured. *A priori*, it may be assumed, as it was by Mr. Anderson that the thriftless, the improvident and the criminal, without sense of responsibility, do not insure their children for the reason that they are but slightly concerned in their welfare. Insurance *per se* means a sense of providence, of forethought and their concomitants, interest in and due regard for the welfare of progeny.

The statistics of insurance companies insuring children have always demonstrated this fact. While it cannot be claimed that insuring children's lives has tended to reduce mortality, the interesting observation can be made that in most instances where mortality of children has been reduced by better living and housing conditions and better care of children, the decrease in mortality as shown by statistics of insurance companies has as a rule been even greater than that for the population at large. The high mortality formerly prevalent in England amongst infants is evidenced by the earlier mortality table of Dr. Farr and the Carlisle Table, in which the death rate of children under one is given at 165.59 per thousand in the former table and 153.9 per thousand in the latter table. Similarly between ages one and two, the

respective death rates are 65.59 per thousand and 80.61 per thousand. The death rate of the London Prudential from 1879 to 1888 was for the former group 99.46 per thousand and for the latter 63.24 per thousand, in both instances being lower than the presumed population mortality for these ages.

What holds true for England holds true with probably even greater force in the United States. According to the census for 1900, the death rate between ages one and two was 46.6 per thousand. The experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for the years 1890 to 1894 showed a death rate of 49.3 per thousand and for the year 1904 alone a death rate of 32.7 per thousand, practically twelve points below the general population mortality of 1900. The later experience of the same company, as compared with the census of 1900, is even more favorable. The combined experience of 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908 and 1909 shows a death rate of a trifle over 27 per thousand between ages one and two and of 25.38 per thousand for the year 1909. In other words there is a reduction in the death rate between 1904 and 1909 in the experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of 7 per thousand. These figures will probably be found to be as low as, if not lower than, the census returns for 1910 for the same ages.

It will be argued that these figures alone do not prove that insurance prevents neglect or abuse of children. While this is true, it can be assumed that if such abuse or neglect occurred to any appreciable degree, it would readily manifest itself in the company's experience. Furthermore, it is a perfectly legitimate conclusion that if such abuse and neglect exists among the policyholders of an insurance company, it is less in extent than that among the population at large. So far as the question of infant mortality itself is concerned, the subject may be dismissed from further discussion here, for the reason that the more prominent of the insurance companies in the United States, which insure children, do not insure children under one year of age.

Insurance companies have always limited the amount of insurance obtainable in case of death at certain ages. Here, too, for the sake of historical accuracy, it should be recorded that this action on the part of insurance companies antedated legislation. To-day in New York, the law provides that a person liable for the support of a child at the age of one year and upwards, may take a policy of insurance thereon, the amount payable under which may be made to increase with advancing age and which shall not exceed the sum specified in the following table, the ages specified being the age at time of death:

Between the ages of	1 and 2 years	\$30
" " "	2 and 3	34
" " "	3 and 4	40
" " "	4 and 5	48
" " "	5 and 6	58
" " "	6 and 7	148
" " "	7 and 8	168
" " "	8 and 9	200

The favorable mortality of the insurance companies applies not only to infants between 1-2 but practically to all children. This again is evidenced by the experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for the years 1890 to 1894, 1904, 1905 and for the year 1909. The statistics given below show a constant reduction not only in infant mortality but in all children up to age ten. The statistics have not been extended beyond this age. It should be stated here that the same favorable mortality holds for the higher ages of children.

Age	Farr's Table	Carlisle Table	Census 1900	DEATH RATE PER 1,000		
				Metropolitan 1904	Life Ins. Co. 1905-1909	1909
1-2	65.59	80.61	46.6	32.7	29.17	26.82
2-3	36.14	64.92	20.5	22	19.52	17.2
3-4	24.33	37.94	13.2	12.8	11.20	9.86
4-5	17.92	28.72	9.4	8.8	7.84	7.61
5-6	13.53	17.80	5.2	5.1	6.13	5.45
6-7	10.75	12.28			4.94	4.45
7-8	9.16	8.79			4.31	3.86
8-9	7.69	6.58			3.70	3.46
9-10	6.57	5.08				

The contention that insurance has an adverse influence on the lives of infants may well be laid to rest, for lack of evidence to prove it. For the companies themselves, it may be said that even isolated cases of willful and deliberate child murder by American parents to obtain insurance money is unknown; that every effort is made to follow up reported cases but without satisfaction. It may be said of parents in the United States as it was said in England by Miss Lovibond, that parents whose forethought makes them realize the contingencies of life, in which even the death of children must be included, may not wantonly be accused of lack of care or of regard for their offspring.

The same argument will hold to disprove the contention as to the desirability of insurance for children of any age. At the meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction in Buffalo in 1909, one of the speakers expressed his belief that insurance of children was evil, if not demoralizing. He naïvely stated that the visitors of the charity society,

with which he was connected, were instructed to tell self-respecting families that if they could not meet the financial outlay incidental to the death of a child, the charitable organization had funds to place at their disposal for burial purposes. The subtle and unconscious irony of his remarks makes a fitting commentary to those of Dr. Davies, of Woolwich, who boldly declared that unless the Conference which he was addressing was willing to admit that infants and children should be buried at public expense, it would have to concede the necessity for the insurance of children.

This thought has long been recognized not only in England but on the continent, and even in the most modern and most progressive social legislation, cognizance has been taken of it. Friendly societies in England, sickness clubs in Germany and other European countries, and even so-called sick benefit societies in the United States, insure not only the male wage-earner but the members of his family as well against sickness and provide a sum for burial. For the individual who is better circumstanced, and whose savings are in proportion, the burial of a child may be met out of the latter. For large numbers of workingmen this is not possible, weekly earnings and expenditures are equivalent. Savings are pitifully small, presuming they are at all possible. The pittance in the savings bank or in the bureau-drawer must be used to pay the doctor. Death, when it comes, only too frequently finds the father a borrower in order to give his child proper and decent interment. The question which I put to this Conference is this: Shall this self-respecting and usually hard-working father put himself into debt, shall he take the easier way of soliciting at the hands of charitably disposed individuals or societies, or, finally, shall he take the more difficult way of putting aside out of his weekly earnings, a sum sufficient to guarantee him the means of burial, should the need for it arise? In other words, shall we attempt to maintain self-respect and dignity and thrift through insurance, or lacking this, shall we encourage dependence on private or public philanthropy?

As a matter of fact, the question is really not for us to answer. The great mass of workingmen have answered it for themselves. The millions of policies on the lives of children represent more than the solicitation of an agent. Even the sacrifices which are occasionally encountered, sacrifices which are made to meet premium payments, indicate an abiding abhorrence to pauper burial and the desire to avoid it at any cost. Municipal and other statistics clearly show the reductions in pauper burials which have taken place in the last fifty years as a result of insurance. No method has yet been invented or discovered which guarantees indemnity against

the contingency of death other than insurance, particularly for the workman whose margin between income and outgo is of the smallest. Until such other method is evolved there remains in many instances either insurance or the Potter's Field.

This brings to mind another charge which has been laid to the door of insurance companies, viz.: extravagance in funerals. The validity of this charge is, if it were possible, even less susceptible of proof than the one of child neglect. And yet it is argued that the possession of ready money, received or to be received on account of an insurance policy, leads to recklessness in burial expenditures and prompts an inordinate desire for lavishness, pomp and display in funerals.

The question of extravagant burial is one worthy the consideration of this Conference, as it affects the child as well as the adult. Let me repeat here what I have indicated above, viz.: that insurance in itself is not responsible for the unreasonable display and outlay incidental to funerals. Reputable insurance companies have always deprecated the waste and frequent impoverishment attending unnecessary expenditure for burial and interment. The causes of this waste and extravagance lie much deeper. In part, they are due to racial traditions involving a peculiar respect to the dead. These traditions are deep rooted and frequently have developed into well-grounded customs difficult to overcome. A peculiar code of deportment, based in part on sentiment, influences not only the afflicted but the purveyors of the last rites as well.

During the past winter, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company sent a letter to all undertakers in the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, inviting their co-operation in furnishing funerals to the Industrial policyholders of the company at fixed prices with standardized specifications giving the amounts and kinds of materials, caskets and other requisites for burials, which undertakers could furnish at the rates quoted. It was suggested in this letter that if any considerable number of undertakers could be found willing to offer rates as suggested, that the company was prepared to announce this fact to its policyholders, giving the name and addresses of such undertakers and detailing the conditions under which funerals could be furnished by them. A limited number of replies was received favoring the plan. A large number of undertakers, however, replied through the local association of undertakers, of which they were members, that the association deemed it inexpedient to meet with the plans suggested, owing to the fact that to do so would be in direct opposition to the most important factor in the undertakers' code of ethics, relating to advertising goods and prices.

Any such action on the part of the association was considered derogatory to the profession.

After all, it is not so important for the purposes of this Conference to discuss the past relations of Industrial Insurance to child welfare. The subject of child welfare itself, comprehensively considered, is a matter of the very recent past. It is not surprising that insurance companies, for whom child insurance is only a portion of their activities, should have given their attention largely to the question of the protection of the family in case of the death of the insured.

To-day, however, the insurance company which undertakes to insure the lives of the masses of wage-earners, has to consider not only the problem of insurance protection, but must assume additional responsibility, in that it comes in contact with millions of individuals, many of whom are illiterate, uneducated and in many instances, do not even speak our language. In the very assumption of a relationship which predicates a position of financial trust, such an insurance company assumes duties towards its policyholders which may not be ignored. Not the least of these duties is the attempt to care for its policyholders not merely when death ensues but to attempt to improve their condition during life itself. The problem of the future, therefore, for any insurance company coming in contact with the working classes and which, in particular, assumes to insure the children of the working classes, is to devise ways and means which shall not only be protective but which shall be educational, and if possible, preventive against sickness and disability.

I have in another place dwelt on the peculiar possibilities inherent in the average insurance company, which collects its premiums weekly. The agents of these companies practically visit the families, from whom they collect the premiums, week by week. The relationship between the agent and the policyholder is not one that is based upon sufferance nor condescension. He does not come in the guise of a charity visitor; he has nothing to offer in the way of dole or alms. The relation is a business one primarily. The agent offers protection through insurance to those who are not thus protected. It remains with the prospective policyholder either to participate in the benefits of this protection or to refuse them.

To-day the insurance idea is so thoroughly engrafted in our minds as a thrift agency that it is needless for us to discuss it at this point. The fact that in certain countries, particularly Germany, insurance is to-day compulsory and employers are required to insure their employees not only against death but against sickness, accident, invalidity and old age, indicates how thoroughly the insurance idea has become engrained in our

social legislation. It is conceived and admitted that it is not possible for the average individual, and in particular for the workingman who lives on a narrow margin, to protect himself against the risks of life in any other way. Unfortunately, it is a characteristic of human nature that the average individual, with diffidence and reluctance, undertakes to assume the responsibility of protecting himself and his family against these contingencies of life. Where compulsory legislation has been introduced and where the employer is required to see to it that insurance protection is given, the law acts as an educational factor and brings to the knowledge of every individual the need and the value of insurance protection. Where this is not possible and where insurance is a voluntary matter, the insurance agent must be an educational factor to bring home forcibly and conclusively the advantages which accrue through insurance.

The relation of the insurance agent to the policyholder, owing to the fact that he visits the latter quite frequently, naturally grows to be one of considerable intimacy. The acquaintance which ripens between the two soon loses its formality. The conscientious agent begins to take an interest in his policyholders beyond that which is expected of him; he meets the family of the policyholder not only when joy is in the home but when sorrow and death enter there. Through the agent it may become possible to bring to workingmen's families a knowledge of the laws and rules of sanitation and hygiene, of the up-bringing and rearing of children and instruction to the mother for the care of the infant and the child, by suggesting the means of procuring treatment in case of disease, which cannot be obtained in any other way.

It will be argued that the cost of Industrial insurance is excessive. No one will deny that the rates of premium are higher than those charged for ordinary insurance. Nor is this to be wondered at. The mere fact that the mortality among industrial classes is higher than among those more fortunately situated in itself makes the cost of insurance higher. Men, women and children, who are more apt to be injured by occupational accidents and who may be suffering from occupational diseases, who live under conditions less sanitary and hygienic than are desirable, die at a more rapid rate than others. Furthermore, if the service which must be rendered to the industrial policyholder is necessary, if no other forms can be devised which will enable the workingman to insure himself than those which are so commonly in use, if this service, I repeat, is required, then the cost is not excessive.

The important matter to consider is whether, with this service being given and necessary, it is not possible to do more

through the machinery that has been organized for this purpose than has been done heretofore. I have spoken above of the reduction in child mortality that has taken place, year by year, in the experience of insurance companies. It would be difficult to say to what extent this reduction is due to the general improvement in living conditions and to what extent the insurance business has been a factor. The requirement of the insurance company that all risks, even those of children, shall be inspected before an insurance policy is issued would influence parents desiring to insure their children and if anything, would make them more careful of the health of their children. These assumptions, however, are difficult to prove and are not particularly pertinent to this discussion. For us, it is not material what the insurance company has done in the past—we are more interested in what the insurance company is doing to-day and in particular what these companies may do in the future.

If the cost of insurance to the working classes is in part due to the higher mortality, then the first thing which such an insurance organization might attempt for its policyholders, would be the reduction of such mortality. I believe it may be conceded that the high mortality among the Industrial group can be attributed to two main causes: 1. unsanitary living and working conditions, and 2. general ignorance on the part of the population regarding the laws of health. The first of these causes is one that may well be left to civic authorities to deal with through proper legislation; the second, is one that may well be worth the consideration of those who furnish insurance.

How can this best be done? How can we best educate families where there are children so that the latter may be reared under the best hygienic conditions—so that children may grow up to be healthy citizens? To my mind the insurance company has exceptional opportunities for such a campaign. Through the weekly visits of its agents it is able to distribute literature to its policyholders, to bring home to them the various movements which have sprung up to improve living conditions and to prevent disease. To bring this thought home to you concretely, may I indicate to you in a few words what the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is attempting to do in this direction. The company has for years published a periodical for the use of its industrial policyholders. In part, this publication has been a magazine for the propagation of the insurance idea, calling attention to the kinds of policies which the company issues and the rates of premium for the same. Incidentally, it has attempted to place in the hands of its policyholders articles written in a

popular fashion on subjects dealing with the health of the family and in particular with the health of the children in the family. The magazine in a sense is a children's magazine. The illustrations which it contains and many of the articles especially prepared for it have been published with the children in mind. The attempt is made to put in attractive form and in a style which will interest children, frequently in the form of a story, the underlying principles of health. The magazine has attempted to be generally educational and its value is illustrated by the letters received from children expressing their interest and appreciation of the articles which the magazine contains. Some of the articles which have appeared in the last year are the following: "Some Things the Children Can Make for Christmas," "Some Books To Buy for the Children for Christmas," "School Children and Their Needs," "Sanitary Maxims," "Johnnie's Shoes," "A Letter for the Children," "Marjorie's Doll House," "Fathers and Sons," "How Johnnie Spent his Summer," "Prize Offerings," and articles which appeal not only to the children but to the other members of the family as well, such as "Just Flies," calling attention to the danger of the fly as a transmitter of disease, "If You Have a Baby, Place This Where You Will See It Every Day," "Chinese Doctors," "Daily Health Hints," "Summer Clothing for the Children," "Our Glorious Fourth," "Seven Laws of Infant Health," "Physical Defects Which May Be Overcome," etc. To interest the children sufficiently to read the magazine, prizes have been offered for the best essays referring to the articles which appear from time to time.

The company, as would be expected, suffers a heavy loss from deaths due to tuberculosis. In the year 1908, there was a total of 92,411 deaths, of which 16,585 were caused by tuberculosis. Of these, the number of deaths from children over one and under fourteen years of age was 1,330, or 8.01 %. You will readily see that the reduction in mortality from this dread disease is of vital importance to the company. An effort has been made to educate policyholders regarding the causes of the disease, its cure and its prevention. Over four and a half million copies of a pamphlet, "A War Upon Consumption," printed in ten languages, have been distributed to policyholders. This pamphlet as well as others which are issued by the company was put in an attractive form so that it would be read. Copies of this pamphlet have been distributed to school children in certain cities at the request of the authorities, and in one instance the pamphlet has been used as the text for compositions and essays written by the children. It is difficult to determine the effect such a publication has, but

it may be of interest to note, without in any way attempting to draw conclusions, that the mortality of the company from tuberculosis for the first three months of 1909 was 1.89 per 1,000 policies at risk, and that the percentage of deaths from tuberculosis to total deaths was 18.25 %, whereas for the first three months of 1910, the rate per 1,000 was 1.89 % and the percentage of deaths to total deaths was 16.91.

Supplementing the above pamphlet, "A War Upon Consumption," the company prepared a list of the tuberculosis sanatoria, hospitals, dispensaries, classes and associations in the United States and Canada, which it has distributed among its policyholders suffering from the White Plague. This pamphlet was prepared in the hope that many individuals suffering from the disease might be able to obtain necessary and proper treatment either in their own communities or in adjacent states. Unfortunately, it appears that there is not sufficient provision for the cure of either advanced or incipient tuberculosis through municipal or state agencies and that in many instances the charges which are made by private sanatoria are beyond the financial ability of the average workingman. To meet this need, the company has prepared another pamphlet, which is now ready for distribution, entitled, "Directions for Living and Sleeping in the Open Air." It is hoped that through this pamphlet many of our policyholders who are unable to obtain sanatorium treatment may attempt to obtain treatment in their own homes. The pamphlet, like all others which have been prepared for our policyholders, has been written for their especial needs and in language that is readily intelligible. It describes in simple words and in a hopeful way the important facts regarding tuberculosis and points out the simple things that can be done under proper care and supervision, even in the patient's home, in the hope that the disease may be arrested and cured. The pamphlet describes the manner in which, for example, a shack may be built on the roof of a tenement house in the congested cities, the use of window tents and, in particular, the use of porches in smaller cities and towns. Even details, such as the making of the bed, the necessary clothing for winter use, have not been overlooked.

Realizing that literature in itself is insufficient, and that a campaign of education and prevention must be more practical and be brought home more forcibly than can be done through the printed page, the company has been experimenting for a year past in the direction of sending visiting nurses to its industrial policyholders suffering not only from tuberculosis but from any disease which may require nursing. It is unnecessary for me here to dwell on the value of visiting nurs-

ing work since this has been amply demonstrated in many cities and its sufficiency proven. The actual treatment and care given by the nurse is probably the least of her activities. From the standpoint of prevention, the value of the nurse consists in the education along sanitary and hygienic lines, which she is spreading broadcast in every home which she visits. While it can be definitely proven that individuals have been restored to health, who probably would have died had it not been for the ministering care of the nurse, the experiment has been conducted for too short a time to warrant conclusions being drawn therefrom. Nor is it necessary that such conclusions should be drawn. It is sufficient for the purpose of the company to realize that the nurse is part of an educational propaganda and that in the long run her services must rebound to the general benefit and welfare of the policyholders. There can be little doubt that in time, while it may not be possible to prove the matter by actual statistics, that there should be an improvement to a greater or lesser extent in the mortality of policyholders and, in particular, that their general welfare will be materially enhanced. It is hoped that the nurse will be of particular value in preaching the doctrine of the prevention and cure of tuberculosis in connection with the pamphlet, "Directions for Living and Sleeping in the Open Air," to those of our policyholders unable to obtain sanatorium treatment. A nurse, plus the pamphlet, should in time produce tangible and visible results.

As a matter of interest, I may mention here that at present the experiment is being conducted in over forty cities, in the greater number of which the service has been installed but a very short time. The statistics to June 1st show a total of 149,802 visits made, and for May alone a total of 26,338 visits. In the city of Worcester, the experiment began on March 10th, and up to May 31st 1,269 visits have been made. One-third of the cases treated by the nurses have been those of children. In this period of all the cases treated there was not a single death. We find that we are asked to visit, in the main, acute disease, that is, those in which there is a stronger possibility of recovery. Under these may be included, pneumonia, grippe, bronchitis and various children's ailments such as convulsions, paralysis, etc.

Maternity cases have been given particular consideration in this nursing experiment. Where it is asked for, a nurse calls in advance of maternity and gives the necessary instruction to the expectant mother. Similarly, after the birth of the child when no other nurse is in attendance, at the request of the physician and the patient, a nurse will call in the hope

of being able to render service both to the mother and the newborn infant.

I have cited these particular activities mainly to indicate the possibilities that lie in an insurance company dealing with workingmen and their families. They are only the beginnings. The company now has under preparation a booklet dealing with domestic hygiene and the care of children in general. This booklet will treat of the mother in her relation to her infant and older children, will instruct her in child hygiene with particular reference to diseases incidental to children, will call her attention to the necessity of carefully watching physical defects in her children and will in a simple form describe the symptoms of children's diseases, so that she may know which are serious and which are not and induce her to obtain proper medical treatment without delay.

I have said above that an insurance company that protects the lives of the working classes has assumed very definite responsibilities. To what extent, such a company may further enlarge or increase its activities is problematic. Much will depend on the extent to which it may go under the provisions of its charter and the laws of the several states. That the extension of such work by an insurance company, that the endeavor on its part to better the circumstances of its policyholders and, in particular, to increase the length of their lives, are subjects worthy of the deepest consideration, is beyond doubt.

THE MOTION PICTURE

By JOHN COLLIER

I wish to present motion pictures as one of the most important and most practical problems and opportunities now confronting social workers and students of the child. It is a problem which, because it is a new problem as well as a large problem, especially calls for careful investigation and patient, scientific thought.

The motion picture show is one of the silent, unregarded, and largely misunderstood agencies which are making history to-day. It has an interest to the folk-student more unmingled and obvious even than contemporary journalism. The motion picture show is the foremost art influence among the wage-earners of our country. It has not as yet fallen into the hands of the propagandist or of the piratical special interest; it is subventioned by nobody. It speaks directly to the sentiments, the prejudices and passions, the romantic and social interests of more than a million American middle-class and laboring families.

The motion picture show is pre-eminently the family theatre, the family recreation place of our country, and its audience is upward of two and a half million a day. Add to this that the motion picture with constant diligence and with approximate accuracy seeks out and adapts itself to the preferences of this vast public of American families, and the significance and importance of the motion picture theatre is demonstrated without anything more being said.

I do not want to emphasize mere numbers, but there are a few items of statistics which have a particular significance. There are about 10,000 motion picture theatres in this country, as against about 1,400 theatres of all other kinds. The motion picture audience is four times the total audience of all other theatres. This means that the audience reached by dramatic art has been quadrupled through the agency of motion pictures. But a closer examination reveals facts much more striking. The total audience in regular theatres who patronize legitimate drama as distinct from vaudeville, burlesque and musical comedy, is not more than one-sixth or one-seventh of the motion picture audience; while it is a rare motion picture show which does not give in each programme

at least one feature that would be classed as legitimate drama, and by this I mean something drawn from classic literature, from the problems of real life sincerely and often wisely treated, or something of romantic nature dealing with elemental instincts and with that life of the wide world which is of interest to every healthy mind.

But to push the analysis further, because it leads us into the heart of the problem. Economic conditions debar the vast majority in America from the regular theatre. The motion picture theatre is within the reach of all. The regular theatre throughout America is dominated by New York, and the New York theatre is dominated by two elements: the leisure class seeking diversion, and the travelling public out for a good time. This statement would be confirmed by any big theatrical producer, and it explains the lack of seriousness, the lack of purpose, the frequent salaciousness and the generally wanton character of the regular theatre in its low-sunken condition in our country. But the motion picture theatre is not dominated by New York; is not mainly patronized by the travelling public or the leisure classes; and the audience which goes there is indeed seeking a good time, but it goes most often in a responsible capacity, as a family group. Any exhibitor of motion pictures, save possibly those on 14th Street in New York and on similar transient thoroughfares, will testify that if he lost his family patronage he would be ruined. Whether or not you accept my assurance that motion pictures are the cleanest form of theatrical amusement in our country, you will admit that the nature of its audience here pointed out must tend to make it wholesome and clean.

From 500,000 to 600,000 children attend picture shows in our country every day. The motion pictures inspected and favorably passed by the National Board of Censorship are seen each month by a number of children exceeding the total child population in the United States between the ages of four and sixteen. And motion pictures are only one of the several influences which vitally play upon the child, for good or ill, in the motion picture theatre.

Three years ago, when investigating for a committee on cheap amusements, I canvassed a number of New York public schools in the congested neighborhoods. I found that an average of 60 per cent. of the children visited picture shows at least once a week. In the truant class I found that every mortal boy jubilantly acknowledged the soft impeachment of motion pictures.

My impulse was to blame the truancy on motion pictures, but older heads on the committee reminded me that truants

had existed long before motion pictures caught their roving eye. So did juvenile delinquency, I may add, and when I read in the newspapers that a boy has robbed, hurled stones, or run away from home "because he saw it in a motion picture," I am inclined to wait for the evidence. I dissent from the New York judge who asked, "Is there any crime for which motion pictures are not responsible?" Yet the problem is a real one and is occupying teachers and children's societies all over the country; and there are constructive, creative aspects of the problem more interesting still.

I shall try to name the several problems of the motion picture theatre one by one, and shall pass rapidly over those which are obvious and local and dwell on those which are more complicated, on which difference of opinion exists, and which are characteristic of the whole country.

Motion picture shows offer a health problem. This is threefold. Ventilation is rarely looked after in picture shows, and the need for ventilation is acute because the shows are crowded continuously for from eight to fourteen hours a day. The audience will not demand ventilation except in the heat of summer, and adequate ventilation should be required by law. Nothing less than forced ventilation will do the work.'

The second health problem is that of cleanliness, which is self-evident. The third is the effect of motion pictures on the eyes. The eye-strain of motion pictures comes primarily not from the flicker but from the white glare. This is obviated where colored pictures are used, and in the near future all pictures will be colored, either through lithography or through color photography which has now been successfully applied to motion pictures. For the immediate present, the eye strain is greatly increased by the showing of the pictures in complete darkness, and local authorities should prescribe a minimum of light, enough to read by with comfort, shed over the audience throughout a picture performance. In addition a badly scarred motion picture hurts the eyes, and a careless operator or a badly adjusted picture machine may cause severe eye-strain. Teachers know that the eye-strain of American city life is excessive already, and it is a serious matter if motion pictures add to this burden. The point to emphasize is that eye-strain can be largely or completely dissociated from motion pictures, and local boards of health should concern themselves with the subject.

Motion picture theatres offer police problems, and I am not speaking now of the peculiar problem offered by the pictures themselves, but of the problems and dangers to youth that are characteristic of an unguarded motion picture

theatre as of any other place of public assemblage. The main evil lies in the complete darkness in which many picture shows are run. It is an evil pure and simple; unnecessary; detrimental to the artistic effect of the pictures themselves, and destructive of the social interchange which ought to go on in a family and neighborhood gathering place like a motion picture show.

I go into these details because I am speaking to serious and professional students of child problems, and these details *are* the problem of motion picture theatres. For more than a year the Board of Censorship in New York has given weekly demonstrations of the feasibility of abundant light for the interiors of picture theatres. No patented device or special or complicated arrangement is involved.

Here is a concrete reform which lies at hand in every city. For the rest, the police problem of picture theatres is part of the general police problem of any neighborhood. Some localities, including New York, have adopted laws excluding children from picture theatres unless accompanied by guardians. Such laws are scarcely enforceable in a uniform way. Massachusetts has an admirable law limiting to the afternoon hours the time when children may visit picture theatres unaccompanied. Like other police problems, the mere police problem of the picture show must be handled by each city for itself, and no more is needed than common sense, persistence, and official honesty.

Now comes our third problem, the really important and distinct problem of the programme itself in motion picture theatres. Let me at once draw a sharp distinction between the vaudeville and the pictures in the programme. They are problems which have nothing in common.

Vaudeville has no proper place in motion picture shows. Motion pictures have come to drive cheap vaudeville out of existence, not to go into partnership with cheap vaudeville. But there are thousands of picture shows in America which maintain this unholy partnership. I do not sweepingly condemn cheap vaudeville on the moral side. Its primary sin is bad art, not bad morals. The very fact that it is cheap vaudeville seals its doom, for the cheap vaudeville means cheap talent, and cheap talent, to get an effect, must needs descend to the sensational and the salacious, or at least to the vulgar, and that is what generally happens. The vaudeville in picture shows degrades the taste of the audiences, and is by far the most pernicious element in the whole motion picture situation; it prepares the way for motion pictures of a similar kind, and renders the audience obtuse to the refined or ambitious effects in motion pictures. For it must

be remembered that a five or ten cent theatre cannot afford to pay for good vaudeville; but the lowest price buys the very best that exists in motion pictures. How will this situation be reformed? Censorship cannot reform it, because the cheap vaudeville would remain in all its essentials just as injurious after it was morally pruned. Moreover, the worst vulgarity in cheap vaudeville cannot be found in the scenario; it is extemporaneous, suggestive vulgarity. The line of reform lies in two directions: vaudeville may be excluded from motion picture shows by law, as is being proposed in one Western state; and trade development itself will eliminate vaudeville in the course of time. I can only pause to say that in every European country, and in England and Australia, vaudeville has been completely eliminated from picture theatres simply because the producers have found that it does not pay. In the long run, the public is a wonderfully effective censor of its own amusements. Only, we must first insure that the particular public in question is a representative public. I have pointed out that the American public which dominates the regular theatres is not a representative public, and that the public which dominates motion picture theatres *is* a representative public. Another example of unconscious public censorship is found in the great pleasure-parks at Coney Island. These, too, have come to be family gathering places, and in the last two or three years investigators have frequently given them a completely clean bill of health, which they deserve.

So, finally, to the gist of our subject, motion pictures themselves. It should be remembered that what I have said about health problems, police problems, the problem of inferior vaudeville, applies only to a certain proportion, probably a minority, of motion picture shows, and that none of these problems are peculiar to the motion picture show. But what I shall say of motion pictures applies to each and all of the 10,000 show pictures in this country. Motion pictures began, ten years ago, at the moral and artistic point where vaudeville and the regular theatre have stood still ever since. They began as the amusement of the pleasure-seeking and idle few. They began, wanton, sensational, sometimes obscene, for that was what cheap amusements were expected to be in those days. They rapidly purified themselves, or rather, they were predestined to be a family entertainment, and the audience of families did its selective work, and motion pictures became what they are to-day, a relatively sober, sane and educative agency, and a markedly clean and decent form of public amusement. They gained the favor of the wage earning and immigrant classes, drove the penny

arcades out of business through competition, decimated through competition the old-style burlesque and melodrama houses and one-night stands throughout the country, and swept thousands of patrons from the galleries of the standard theatres of all kinds. The theatrical interests became alarmed and began a fierce campaign which is still being waged against motion pictures; a campaign of sweeping denunciation, to which the newspapers readily lent themselves. For all readers of newspapers know that the theatres are heavy advertisers, while motion picture shows do not advertise. Picture shows further competed with the Sunday School and to a measurable extent with the public schools themselves, and many were the jealous enemies that this new form of art, through its phenomenal growth, raised against itself. Motion pictures crowded into any cellar or corner store; they grew up faster than municipal ordinances could keep pace with them, and the picture house, with its dangers from fire and its menace to health, its crowds and all its accompanying conditions, became a public nuisance in many neighborhoods. I cannot better illustrate the swift growth of picture shows, and the inability of public regulation to keep pace with that growth, than by mentioning that New York City has regulated its regular theatres with excessively minute ordinances, while to this day there is not one ordinance, nor one mention of motion pictures, on the books of New York City. They are regulated, indeed; every administrative department comes in for a share of the regulation, and in the past many departments have come in for a share in the graft which such a lawless situation invites and almost necessitates. I go into the history of motion pictures because it explains the current prejudice against them, and because it makes clear what a many-sided problem of constructive lawmaking the picture theatre offers to American municipalities. A year ago the whole country was in a state of mild excitement about the evils of motion picture theatres, and out of this excitement grew a work which in some respects is quite unique, the national censorship of motion picture films.

Of this censorship merely a word. It is formed by representatives of various civic and charitable societies in New York; its chairman is the Rev. George William Knox, of the Union Theological Seminary; it is administered through the People's Institute of New York, and financed by The People's Institute through contributions from the general public but mainly from the motion picture interests themselves. It operates under agreements with the manufacturers of motion pictures, and by these agreements it censors not for New York merely but for the entire country. Take a given motion

picture: *Oliver Twist*, or the *Life of Washington*. All copies used throughout the country are made from one original, the photographic negative, comparable to the book-plates of a printing establishment. The National Board of Censorship censors, and suppresses, alters or approves this original. The motive of the manufacturers in submitting their pictures is threefold: They desire and need the protection which comes from the censorship of a disinterested committee; they actively wish to know what it is that the public really prefers, and wish to avoid offense to the moral sentiments of any part of the country; and the well-meaning manufacturer, who is in the large majority, has little to lose by submitting to intelligent censorship, and has much to gain through the restraint which the censorship lays on his less cautious or responsible competitor. The censoring committee serve as volunteers, and are settlement workers, literary people and public minded men and women in various lines. An appeal from the verdict of the censoring committee is always permissible, to the governing committee, which is a very representative body. The National Board of Censorship has for eight months seen every motion picture put on the market through regular channels, and about three-fourths of all pictures now obtainable for exhibition purposes have been listed as approved by the Board. Motion picture film to the value of more than \$200,000 has been destroyed on the advice of the Board of Censorship in the last twelve months. I cannot go into more detail here about the censorship. Its office is at 318 E. 15th Street, New York, and it is a bureau of information on all matters pertaining to the social aspect of motion pictures. There are several kinds of co-operation which it needs and which it can give to any locality which desires to improve its motion picture shows.

All that I have said has merely cleared the ground for the most important question, "What kind of factor are motion pictures themselves in child life, and how can they be used in child education?"

Motion pictures have been endlessly attacked because, seen as they are by multitudes of children, they contain representations of violent deeds, frequently of open crime, and sometimes they deal with themes that are supposed to be spoken of by adults only after children have retired for the night.

Modern thought has become keenly aware that all influences which reach the child, make more than a transitory impression, and enter his experience as a part of his permanent education for good or ill. We are reminded that the child is imitative, that he is suggestible, and we sometimes forget

that the spirit of romance, adventure, and even dare-deviltry has its springs deep in child nature itself, and that imitation or suggestion merely determine the exact form which the child's vivid and pertinacious energies take. The proper ideal of modern education is development rather than prohibition, substitution rather than repression, and the utilization of opportunities rather than the excessive sheltering of the child. The modern educational ideal is a constructive rather than an ascetic ideal. Yet along with this ideal has grown up a very fortunate sensitiveness to the morbid and parasitic influences which beset the child and the man through all their years. Thus we witness, going hand in hand, a strongly conservative, a prudent, almost a puritan attitude toward the environment of the child, and a more significant and more dynamic ideal which realizes that education involves a positive liberation of the forces within the child, and a self-consciousness attained through facing enemies. It is the first, and as I believe lesser of these ideals, the repressive ideal, which has almost entirely controlled the attitude of teachers and reformers toward commercial amusement in general, in particular toward the theatre, and in greatest particular toward the motion picture show. An extreme of this repressive ideal is in the New York State law which forbids the representation on the stage, on billboard, in newspaper or in book, of any crime whatsoever, in case the picture is to fall before the eyes of a child. Massachusetts only last year diligently advocated a similar state law. And this is exactly the prohibition which many reformers have desired to lay on motion pictures. They have impeached the Board of Censorship because it allowed the representation of law-breaking in motion pictures. The plea that motion pictures are a form of drama, and that drama deals with problems, and that the best drama deals with moral problems, and therefore in some measure with moral delinquency, has not convinced these zealous critics of the motion picture. They insist that motion pictures must be pruned until no violence, no crime, nothing that it would not be safe to do in the schoolroom or the parlor of a home in the presence of children, shall be allowed. Their argument is reasonable. They say: "The child does not get the moral drift of the picture in question. He sees only the graphic and sensational elements in the picture. He sees the forging of the note; he cannot understand the punishment which is meted out to the forger. He sees the burglar with his lantern and mask; the picture may be a problem picture showing how burglars are produced by influence, or showing that burglary is a losing game, but the child will not comprehend this and will remember only the vision of the lantern,

the mask and the gun." Thus they reason, and the Board of Censorship is compelled to acknowledge, that some children, looking at a given problem play under some conditions, may carry off a disastrous suggestion. Of course, the same argument applies to newspapers, and to street life, and to literature in general, and to social life in general, and we tolerate literature and social life, even though they contain elements of danger, because they are necessary and in the main are good. It is clear to the Board of Censorship that to forbid all representation of crime in motion pictures, regardless of the moral connection and moral lesson, would be to kill the dramatic quality of motion pictures, which would mean ultimately to kill the most dynamic element in the motion picture art. To counterbalance this possible damaging influence upon the hypothetical child, motion pictures offer much that is acknowledged by all to be educational and stimulating. One picture in every five or six is designedly educational in its nature, dealing with geography, industry, or history accurately reproduced. Two more in every five moving pictures deal gladly with the comic side of life and create sympathy and a sense of humor. Two pictures more in every five deal with dramatic themes, and probably half of these dramatic pictures revolve about serious moral problems, and the characters are tempted to commit crimes, and sometimes do commit crimes, and are invariably dealt with by a stern justice which is far more certain and terrible with its lightnings than is human justice in real life.

What I just said relates to motion pictures as they are now given, in their present environment. Assuredly most motion picture shows are not safe places for young children to go unaccompanied by guardians. This will be clear to all, and the active co-operation of the large moving picture interests could be secured in passing laws in every state, penalizing the admission of unaccompanied children, and the representative motion picture interests would sincerely hope that such a law would be enforced. They would lose a negligible amount of money immediately and gain tremendously in public support through such a child-protecting law. But the true philosophy of the relation of the motion picture to child life lies elsewhere than in permanently debarring the child. We must change the environment where pictures are shown. We must integrate the motion picture with our schools, our playgrounds and churches. We must carry into the commercial picture show itself those self-conscious uplifting agencies of which this conference is an expression. This last statement has no merely theoretical meaning. The motion picture show is a neighborhood institution and, as I have said,

a family institution, and its proprietor is not as a rule a well educated man but is most often a well-intentioned man. At least he is an alert business man, and he would welcome suggestions and co-operation from neighborhood agencies which approached him in a co-operative spirit. The moving picture show can draw on an enormous repertory, a repertory of actually tens of thousands of subjects and as varied almost as the interests of the human race. Is it not *our fault*, ours the social workers, if what we know, and what we hope, and what influence we have, is not brought to bear on these neighborhood institutions which have successfully reached and swayed those very classes of the public which our social settlements and churches and evening schools have failed to reach? In this country we began by educating disproportionately the technical capacities and the brains of our children. Our public education did not concern itself with the emotional development of the young. We left this emotional education to the home, the church, and the commercial amusements. But we sadly know today that the home has become a diminishing factor in the emotional life, the life of joy and social interest, of our children. We know that the church as an influence is not keeping pace with the growth of our society. We witness the enormous expansion and irresistible appeal of the dance hall, the baseball field, the moving picture show. We see these social forces forging ahead, helped not at all by us, the self-conscious social workers, but rather viewed by us in the main simply with barren or obstructive jealousy and suspicion. Let us be glad that those potent agencies which we still assume to be agencies of the world, the flesh and the devil, do not take us at our word and become what we expect them to be. We are beginning to pay attention to the athletic development of our people and are beginning to utilize the "play principle" in its outdoor manifestations. But let us not forget that the drama is a manifestation of the play principle and of many important social and psychological principles beside. Let us remember that the drama has been in many periods of the world's history the leading form of ennobled expression and vicarious experience for the leading elements of the public. Let us ask how we can help in the development of this people's theatre, this democratic art, whether it be motion pictures or whatsoever else; let us ask how we can harness this force to our chariot of social ideals. I often think that the phrase, "Holding down the lid," describes with ironical accuracy the method by which social workers have hitherto tried to help along in the problem of commercial recreations. Suppose that Watt, when he saw the kettle boil, had said, "Here is a

dangerous explosive agency. I must hold down the lid," and that whole generations of Watts had been ever since struggling to hold down the lid which intermittently blew off to the dismay of society. Where would we be in civilization if Watt had merely tried to hold down the lid? Instead, Watt recognized that the kettle boiled because there was a force inside of it, and he studied that force with scientific sympathy and applied his inventive genius toward utilizing that force, and now that force has bridged our oceans and dug our mines, and bound our distant places together, and carried society a long way toward its own mastery and the mastery of the earth. Our problem, looking into conditions to-day and looking into the future, is to master the social force as our fathers mastered the physical forces. We cannot accomplish this by merely trying to hold down the lid.

BIRTH REGISTRATION AND PREVENTION OF INFANT MORTALITY

By HELEN C. PUTNAM, A. B., M. D.

In an effective chart sent me by Dr. C. St. Clair Drake, statistician of the department of health of Chicago, is graphically presented the chief agencies "working to save the babies of Chicago" in 1909.

Two large circles connected by a heavy line represent the two chief co-operating centres—the department of health and the united charities. Radiating from the former are six light lines to minor agencies directly responsible to the department: visiting nurses, district medical inspectors, lecturers, milk inspection, sanitary inspection, dispensaries.

From the charities circle are six lines to their special agencies: visiting nurses (reporting daily through the department of health), Chicago Medical Society (free medical attendance on suitable cases), interpreters, religious organizations (gifts and meeting places for lectures), settlement houses, Chicago milk commission (stations for pure milk and instruction in feeding).

Dr. Drake writes that among the alterations in plans for this summer's campaign (1910) is an additional circle for the new midwives correspondence school conducted by the health department. Twice each month a lecture is sent through the mails to each of the registered midwives, with questions for them to answer. The topics for the first three lectures are: the value of recording births, the prevention of blindness in infants, hot weather care of infants. The "hot weather circular" is printed in nine languages. He adds that the midwives are very generally interested and responsive.

Dr. Cressy L. Wilbur, chief statistician in the Bureau of the Census, suggests that the keystone of this drawing should be one larger circle connecting with both the department of health and the united charities—"vital statistics"—the test of life saving. "Thorough registration of births and deaths aids all forms of public health work and is indispensable for testing and comparing their efficiency."

The United States has rushed through its brief existence intent on achieving wealth, or the appearance of it. The

Bureau of the Census with hard facts dispels many illusions, and indicates dark corners needing the light. It compels us to admit the truthfulness of home and foreign critics concerning "American superficiality." Of nothing have we been more wasteful than of our vast natural resources and the greatest of these is human lives. Concerning the waste of infant life we are chiefly guessing. For the Census of 1908 eighteen states had good laws requiring registration of deaths, but not yet completely enforced. These with eight cities having reliable registration in non-registration states, the "registration area," covers 51.8 per cent. of the population. In 1909 North Carolina, Missouri and Delaware were added making twenty-one registration states.

There is no state or city whose birth registration is sufficiently accurate to be accepted by the Census Bureau which requires at least 90 per cent. of births to be recorded. Boston, however, claims to have recorded 95 per cent. of its births for several years.

General interest is invited by government officials to make the Census more nearly complete in order to give greater accuracy and efficiency to efforts for social betterment. Closer acquaintance with the subject cannot fail to convince one of the fundamental importance of doing so.

If we multiply by two the deaths of infants reported in the "registration area" containing about one-half our population, we can assume therefrom that not less than a quarter-million babies are dying annually; or that nearly one-fifth of all deaths in the country occur under one year of age. If we include all deaths of children under five years, about 400,000 die annually, over one-quarter of all deaths. These figures do not tell the whole story of our waste of infant life for they do not include those dead when born, nor those who died in the early months of pregnancy (abortions) which have been estimated at not less than one-fifth of all conceptions.

Such statistics as we have are more than appalling; they are a disgrace because authorities generally agree that one-half at least of these lives could be saved. We let them die instead, and keep no record of it. More even than a disgrace, the progressive increase or the stationary rate of infant mortality, whichever it may be, is a menace to the survival of the nation in spite of the fact that other mortality rates are decreasing. Is one-quarter million deaths one-half of all the babies born annually? Or is it one-tenth? What is the rate by which it decreases our population? We estimate that it may be about one-seventh, but we do not know.

Every other civilized country, and some that we have not ranked as of our own high grade, dignify the advent of a citizen with a birth record or certificate. The child from the beginning of life is legally recognized in all vital statistics of the civilized world but those of the United States. The Registrar-General of births, deaths, and marriages in England and Wales publishes international tables of vital statistics, among which only a fragment of the United States is listed; but which includes in full Australasia (New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, Western Australia, New Zealand), Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Ceylon, Chile, Denmark, Finland, France, German Empire (Prussia), Hungary, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Ontario, Roumania, Servia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.

The Journal of the American Medical Association editorially commented on this neglect in a recent number as follows: "It comes as somewhat of a shock to one to realize that in a nation where a record is made of every legal procedure, of every business transaction and commercial liability, no matter how insignificant, where millions are spent each year in recording and preserving all real estate transactions, where, in short, everything else, material or immaterial, is made a matter of record, yet in more than half of the United States a human being can be born and can die without any record being made or official notice being taken of the fact. Elaborate and carefully worked-out systems record the birth, entire career and death of every pedigreed horse, cow, dog and even of "blooded" cats, yet children are born and men and women die without the slightest record of these events being preserved. Careful record is kept of acreage and crops, as well as of all diseases of plant and animal life. The total wheat production of a state or of the United States is recorded to the last bushel. In case of sheep rot or hog cholera, the disease is instantly reported, carefully studied and rigorously exterminated, . . ."

The rate of infant mortality logically means the ratio between deaths of infants under one year and the number of children born alive, and is so computed in other countries. We can only discuss infant deaths in relation to the death rate of the whole population. This is misleading when we attempt the prevention of infant mortality. For example, in the registration area among all ages annual deaths from diarrhoea and enteritis are given as 52,213 or, multiplied by two, about 104,000 over the entire country, ranking fourth in frequency among causes of death. But diarrhoea and enteritis as causes of death appear quite differently when

from foreign records and from some of our own city records, from hospital, dispensary and private medical reports we learn that they are the chief cause of death under two years of age. They cause the death of six times as many infants as adults in such records, *i. e.*, as classified among all causes of death they rank much too high for adults, and are wholly underrated as diseases to be eliminated in saving infant life. Diarrhoea and enteritis also occur among many infants who survive handicapped by these digestive diseases that can be largely prevented. What proportion of all babies die or are so injured? In relation to the total infant population is it an almost negligible number? Which of various methods is saving the largest number? We cannot determine without birthrates and more complete vital statistics.

For ten years in England and a large part of Europe there has been a steady decline in the rate of infants dying to those born. The Netherlands, Switzerland and Finland show this decline for twenty-eight years. We can compare only incomplete records of deaths of infants with incomplete records of deaths at all ages, the latter being so modified by causes that affect adults only as to be an unreliable basis of estimate of rates for infants.

The Registrar-General of England shows the infant mortality for each of the first four weeks, and for each of the first twelve months. He finds that about one-third of infant mortality occurs in the first month; the causes being premature birth, congenital defects, atrophy, debility, inanition, *i. e.*, conditions produced by ante-natal influences. Next in frequency to those mentioned come bronchitis, syphilis and intestinal troubles, all more or less due to inheritance. In the general European decline of infant mortality deaths in the first three months have lessened least; and diarrhoeal diseases in the later months as cause of death have been greatly reduced. This suggests that it is easier to improve environmental conditions than ante-natal influences—heredity; but the problem of the health of expectant mothers calls for special attention since over one-third of infant mortality is directly due to its neglect.

In the first three months the mortality of male infants is greater than of female, although they approach the same rate later. This tends, according to the English report, to make women more numerous than men in spite of the fact that more males are born. Those objecting to such disproportion of the sexes may borrow comfort from the statement of the professor at Yale University that "boys when grown will increase business competition."

This European decline in infant mortality is attributed

especially to plans for encouraging natural breast feeding and improving artificial feeding, thus reducing intestinal disturbances. Here we see at once how the best test of the worth of our social efforts in prevention requires such a basis of facts to justify its support. It is also stated that the lessening of infant deaths has been due to "an aroused public conscience." This contrasts strangely with our literature overflowing with theories and romancings and poetry of parental love and maternal instincts. Since knowledge of the facts, causes and remedies are effecting improvements in the hands of mothers and nurses in the last analysis, it argues forcibly for the higher education of women in biologic and sanitary science, in municipal and household administration, with the necessary political franchise to use their ability to the best advantage for the children. Women's instincts like men's need the best scientific information available for the century's demands.

A high birth rate in any locality indicates the presence there of a large proportion of population at the child-bearing ages. Young people crowd to the places where there are the best opportunities for work, and we have congestion of population. Where there is congested population there is always high death rate, infant death rate being highest. It follows that where there is high birth rate there is high infant death rate. The high infant mortality may be due to overwork or under-feeding of mothers, and alcoholic, tobacco, or sexual irregularities of parents which eventually tend to diminish the birth rate as well as lower the vitality of children. The high infant mortality may also be due to bad sanitary conditions. This has so often been proved to be the fact, that infant deaths are rightly considered a good index of local sanitation.

We have been a newly settled country, with cities and manufactures rapidly developing—conditions attracting young workers at the ages of lowest mortality and highest fecundity. Also we have a very large rural population which gives as a rule the best vital statistics, and in England the lowest infant mortality. When in spite of these advantages we have from our meagre statistics an infant mortality rate one-fifth the total death rate, and under five years one-quarter the total, the country has an imperative task on hand.

Among details in prevention of infant mortality on which we need more information from the Census are:

1. The influence of mothers' occupation on birth rate and mortality; also the influence of the family income and housing conditions. There is a close relation. This opens several large questions in philanthropic and social efforts,

such as the relative wisdom of day nurseries or of pensioning the mothers—the creators of life—as we have been pensioning soldiers, so that they can be suitably fed in a decent home while they rear American citizens; some foreign countries are leading the way. Or the wisdom of milk depots to supply clean or pasteurized milk, instead of encouraging maternal nursing—educating both parents because some students claim that among daughters of alcoholic fathers is the greatest failure in breast feeding. The mortality among bottle-fed babies is from five to seven times that among breast fed. Another question among many is that of homes *versus* institutions for bringing up babies. About half those put in institutions die according to such figures as we have. This important subject, mothers' occupations and home conditions in relation to births and infant deaths, is discussed by Dr. Caroline Hedger, Mr. E. B. Phelps and other investigators in the Report of the Conference on Prevention of Infant Mortality last November, which deserves thoughtful reading, as it presents points to which the time limit to-day does not permit even allusion.

2. The number of illegitimate births and their influence on infant mortality. In England and Wales illegitimate infants die more than twice as often as legitimate.

3. A record of stillbirths, their causes and the causes of infant deaths under three months being related. The Census included stillbirths in its mortality tables from 1850 to 1890; but since then has excluded them, stating that statistics of stillbirths need to be studied and treated differently, and should be separately considered in distinct tables.

A statistical study of abortions (deaths during the first three months of pre-natal life) and their causes is equally needed. Both studies lead to the science of eugenics, and that infants be better born is half the battle in prevention of infant mortality. Professor Fisher in his Report on National Vitality gives authoritative medical opinions estimating that out of every one hundred premature births (whose number we do not record) forty could be prevented; out of every one hundred babies dying from syphilis seventy might be saved—but we do not report this contagion to health boards, nor require men or women to be free from it when marrying although it is the only known disease that can be inherited in full virulence, and is estimated to be not less than five times as prevalent as tuberculosis. It is probable that more die from syphilis before birth than after, as one of its commonest results is destruction of intra-uterine life, like small-pox and other diseases that by the control

of health boards have become almost entirely eliminated as factors in infant mortality.

4. We should know the number of infants dying of suffocation. In England and Wales out of 1,820 suffocations in 1908, 1,593 victims were under one year of age. In-toxicated parents or carelessness or criminal intent are often causes. This crime and others against infants, murder of the unborn and infanticide we make little attempt to control. Indeed, murders are taken with comparatively little seriousness if the published statistics are true that we have only 1.3 convictions in 100 murders while Germany has 95 in 100. The first step in preventing deaths by violence, ante-natal or post-natal, is to record them.

5. How do varying nationalities affect our birth and infant death rates? How do illiteracy, alcoholism, abandonment, wife desertion, widowhood, divorce affect them? In several older countries the birth rate is decreasing annually. Is our birth rate of American born parents decreasing, and to what extent do we owe our increase of population to immigration?

6. Another important item we need the aid of the Census to settle, is the influence of large families on the vitality of offspring and mother. Is the vitality of the youngest equal to that of the firstborn as estimated by resistance to disease—tuberculosis, for example—and by the number of descendants and generations following?

The influence of large families on infant mortality was studied for the Conference already mentioned by Dr. Alice Hamilton, of Hull House, among sixteen hundred families, 97 per cent. of the parents being foreign born. Dr. Theodate Smith of Clark University quoted in the discussion of that report the results of her previous study of the marriage and fecundity of Harvard and Yale graduates, going back more than two hundred years. Her general conclusion was that very large families usually had two mothers, and tended to extinction within four or five generations. We need more information through the Census on these and related points.

7. What is the influence of the age of parents on birth rate and on vitality? It has been stated by one authority that if all women married at thirty the birth rate would be reduced one-third. On the other hand those marrying at seventeen or eighteen frequently have no children after thirty.

In addition to birth registration as an aid in preventing infant mortality, for other important reasons it is a duty adults owe the child which cannot look after its own interests.

Its legitimacy, its inheritance of property, its age of attaining majority which concerns the exercise of the suffrage and various civic rights and duties, all forms of insurance, of government pensions, including accrued pensions and a pension to a widow based on the number of her children by the deceased soldier; child labor and school laws requiring date of birth, the age of consent and criminal responsibility are a few of the life events depending on such records. In all our large cities thousands of questions yearly are referred to civic authorities involving the date of birth. In justice to the child it should be immediately recorded.

The urgent invitation of Census officials to provide the best possible test of the value of our efforts—a complete record of vital statistics—is without doubt most important for those interested in child welfare to keep in mind.

What can be done unofficially to increase interest in the registration of births? Some neglect is due to indifference of medical attendants, some to ignorance of midwives, some to absence of any law providing facilities for registration, and some to inefficient enforcement of the law. Popular demand for registration is the best way of remedying all these conditions. It should be as much a matter of self respect to be correctly entered in the birth register as to have one's marriage so legalized with a clean health record for it. The tens of thousands of mothers organized throughout the country could create a universal public opinion to that effect in a single year if persuaded of this duty to children.

The custom should be established here as it is in some countries of providing each person with a copy of his registration, a birth certificate. Dr. William C. Woodward, health officer of the district of Columbia, systematically examines registers to determine whether the births of all deceased infants were recorded; and endeavors to educate parents to have it done by sending to them an acknowledgment of such a record, practically a birth certificate, I infer. In France social workers assisting expectant mothers and families with a newborn child send a blank certificate of birth with the baby's outfit. The mothers' mutual aid societies in that country are quite fully described, with other admirable French methods for preventing infant mortality, by Professor Henderson of Chicago University, who made a special study of that field before the Conference last November. American mothers' clubs through their many ramifications can reach all classes of parents and accomplish more perhaps than any other agency in the education of parents on this point.

The education of midwives on the importance of birth registration we have seen is regularly undertaken through

the correspondence school at Chicago. Training schools for nurses can perhaps make the subject more emphatic, as well as medical schools. Visiting and school nurses can do educational work.

Some officials make a house to house canvass once or twice a year to verify all births reported and discover those that have not been. This makes the register complete to within 90 per cent. at least in all probability. In states where there has been little or no registration of vital statistics it has been found expedient to begin with registration of deaths, which are more easily kept track of because of the requirement of a burial permit that cannot easily be avoided. Michigan has a law that is expected to secure complete registration of births. It provides for the execution of each detail within certain time limits, and the penalty for all failures, together with a fee for each unrecorded birth detected to the officials charged with the duty of detecting omissions. The difference between this and the old law was seen in Detroit when, during the first six months of its operation nearly three times as many births were reported as previously. The entire state recorded nearly fifteen thousand more births than in the previous year. Two hundred twenty-four births were found not reported.

While much depends on the merit of the law and its enforcement, much also depends on the educated public sentiment back of it to secure complete registration. The Census reports that the states having the largest proportion of native born Americans are the ones in which it is most difficult to secure the passage of effective registration laws.

At the Bureau of Pensions at Washington it is stated that they have sometimes to approximate the date of birth by the recorded sale of a piece of property, or the recorded birth of some other child. In one instance often mentioned it was determined by the date that a celebrated race horse was foaled. I have seen an attendance officer of the public schools examine pupils' teeth as is the custom in a horse trade to determine the age in connection with other signs of age.

Strenuous efforts should be made to remove from us the reproach that human beings in this country can be born, and can live and rear children, and die with no record to show it.

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EUROPEAN INVESTIGATIONS IN SCHOOL HYGIENE

By WM. H. BURNHAM, Ph. D.

During the last twenty-five years many important investigations in School Hygiene have been made in Europe. These have had to do with the sanitary conditions of schoolhouses, the growth of school children, school diseases, defects of the senses, adenoids, decaying teeth, the development of the voice, the hygiene of reading, writing, and of the other subjects of the curriculum, as well as fatigue, the period of study, recesses, home work, etc., etc.

I have time to illustrate but one class of these investigations and I choose those that relate to the management of contagious diseases in the school.

First of all, let us take diphtheria. Recent investigations in London suggest the scientific method of managing this disease in the schools. But before speaking of these, let me ask you to recall a few facts. Every adult here can recall the dread caused by this enemy of childhood before the use of the antitoxin became general. It used to be the most alarming of the school diseases, and every mother knew the danger liable to be encountered when she sent her child to school. The way the doctor felt is well described by the words of a prominent physician.

"Nor was the doctor in much happier plight. The feeling of helplessness, the sense of foreboding, with which we faced every case was something appalling. Few of us who have been in practice twenty years or more, or even fifteen, will ever forget the shock of dismay which ran through us whenever a case to which we had been summoned revealed itself to be diphtheria. Of course, there was a fighting chance, and we made the most of it. But what turned our liver to water—as the graphic Oriental phrase has it—was the knowledge which, like Banquo's ghost, would not down, that while many cases would recover of themselves, and in many border-line ones our skill would turn the balance in favor of recovery, yet if the disease happened to take a certain sadly familiar, virulent form we could do little more to stay its fatal course than we could to stop an avalanche, and we never knew when a particular epidemic or a particular

case would take that turn. 'Black' diphtheria was as deadly as the Black Death of the Middle Ages."¹

Since the use of the antitoxin has become general the mortality from diphtheria has decreased remarkably. In Boston the average ratio of mortality from 1876 to 1894, before the use of the antitoxin, was 14.25 per 10,000 of the population. The average ratio since the use of the antitoxin from 1895-1909 inclusive has been only 5.17. The decrease in mortality is well illustrated by the statistics gathered by Dr. McCollom at the Boston City Hospital.

While the use of the antitoxin has enormously reduced the mortality, nevertheless, many of its terrors still remain, and frequently it is difficult to control an epidemic of the disease.

The significant facts in regard to diphtheria are briefly as follows:

The disease is caused by the Klebs-Loeffler bacillus in the throat or nose, and is usually spread by direct personal contact. The persons who are acutely ill with diphtheria are not the serious sources of contagion; for they are isolated. The most serious sources of contagion are the following:

First, the perfectly healthy child who has come in contact with the disease and carries the germs. Such cases are called "carriers."

Second, children who are suffering from mild forms of the disease not perhaps suspected by parents and teachers.

Third, children who have had the disease, but have returned to school still carrying the Klebs-Loeffler bacilli.

There are many survivals of old ideas in regard to the treatment of diphtheria. It is usually supposed that it is always a severe disease, and hence the great danger that comes from "carriers" is ignored. School closure is resorted to and the children allowed to return to the school after a few weeks without any examination to prove that they are free from the disease, and great faith is placed in disinfection as a means of protection. This without bacteriological examination is of no avail. We disinfect the rooms and the furniture, but the disease germs are in the noses and throats of the children. Disinfection by means of sulphur, as described by Dr. Kerr, is "a procedure only to be classed with fetichistic incantations and mediæval exorcisms."

Very important and significant studies of diphtheria among school children have been made in London under the direction of the medical officer. The method is similar to that used by boards of health in this country, only special effort is made to detect the carriers before they do mischief.

¹ Hutchinson, Woods: Preventable Diseases, Boston, N. Y., 1909. pp. 223-224.

"Diphtheria returns are kept under continuous observation, and on any suspicion of school influence showing itself my assistant visits the school, and all children giving any sign of ill-health, such as aural or nasal discharge, enlarged glands, undue pallor, or a history of recent absence, have a small portion of mucous removed from throat or nose by a sterilized platinum wire, and placed on the surface of a tube with sterile blood serum. This is then cultivated in an incubator at 98° F. for 15 to 18 hours. The cultures are then examined microscopically, and any showing suspicious forms are then stained with Neisser's stain. Except in very rare cases this is deemed sufficient. Only cases showing Klebs-Loeffler bacilli are counted as diphtheria, the pseudo-bacilli we neglect." (Report of the Educ. Committee of the London County Council, March, 1905. London, page 25.)

In some cases cultures are made from all the children. The significant and favorable results of a scientific method of managing diphtheria are illustrated by the following concrete cases from the London reports:

"Grafton-road (Islington, N.)—During April, 1905, some cases of diphtheria occurred amongst the infants; out of 33 cultures one boy was discovered to be a carrier, and on his exclusion the outbreak ceased."¹

"William-street, (Fulham).—An upper class of the Infant's department having had several cases, 33 of the children were bacteriologically tested, and six found to be harbouring the bacillus. On excluding them the outbreak terminated."¹

"Union-street (Woolwich).—Much illness and some diphtheria being reported, a visit of enquiry was made on December 11th, 35 infants being examined, nine presented Klebs-Loeffler bacilli. Measles and whooping-cough were also prevalent, and, as the children seemed in a condition of low vitality and likely to be disposed to aid dissemination of infectious disease, the department was closed till the Christmas vacation."¹

"At Lewisham Bridge School, in September, a few cases of diphtheria occurred in an infant class room. The Medical Officer of Health was very anxious to close the room and exclude all the children, but it was felt that the more scientific procedure would be to discover the carrier cases, and exclude them only. Accordingly, the children were all examined, and two were found harbouring diphtheria bacilli. On the exclusion of these two the outbreak subsided entirely. One of the cases—R C.—had a profuse nasal discharge; On December 8th he was again re-examined, and although the nose now was free from diphtheria germs, a culture from the apparently healthy throat still gave Klebs-Loeffler bacilli, al-

¹ Report 1906, pp. 33, 34.

though this time they grew in degerate and bizarre forms, showing that their vitality was on the point of exhaustion. In this case, therefore, the diphtheria bacilli persisted in a throat for over seventy days. Had the children been excluded, say, for twenty-one days, this boy would have returned with the others in a still infectious condition, and the closure would have been a failure."¹

In the report for 1909 of 3,009 cultures from 25 schools, where the diphtheria bacillus was found 122 cases Dr. Kerr says, "In every instance in which carriers were detected and excluded from the school there was a prompt cessation of cases of diphtheria."

Thus, in general, school closure as a means of checking diphtheria is likely to have but little influence; with competent medical inspection it seems better ordinarily to have the schools continued, because in this way the disease can be better controlled than when the children are on the streets or at home. Dr. Kerr in a recent report writes:

"It has been shown that school closure ought seldom or never to be necessary in elementary schools owing to the prevalence of diphtheria. With modern technique it is possible to discover those who are spreading the disease and to obtain their exclusion. The objections to school closure are that "carriers" are not discovered and isolated, and that there is not the least guarantee that at the end of the period of closure the children who are the cause of the spread of the disease will be innocuous. The closing of schools for diphtheria should be looked upon as a confession of impotence and defeat."

The only safe method of procedure seems to be the following: As soon as a case breaks out in a school bacteriological tests of all the children should be made in order to detect any possible "carriers." In case diphtheria has occurred in a household all children in the family should be examined bacteriologically before being permitted to re-enter the school. Children who have had the disease should not be permitted to return to school until a number of negative cultures has shown that the disease is no longer carried.

The problem of dealing with diphtheria in the school is a very difficult one because the only sure way seems to be the exclusion of all children who are "carriers." But this is likely to be strongly objected to by parents, who see no reason why children who are well should be excluded from the school. The serious character of the disease and the satisfactory results likely to come from thorough-going investigation and rigorous exclusion of all cases showing a positive culture, seem thoroughly to justify such drastic measures, and teachers and

¹ Report 1904, p. 21.

the community should be educated to the need of a scientific method of handling the disease.

Very interesting investigations have been made also in regard to measles, which Dr. Kerr calls "the most fatal disease of childhood and the one which plays the greatest havoc with school attendance." The studies made indicate the great saving of life which occurs if the disease can be postponed from the early to the later years, even from the kindergarten to the elementary grades, and the importance of the scientific method of dealing with the disease. Passing over these investigations, interesting and important as they are, I may give a single illustration from a different field.

Certain forms of psychic and nervous disorders may fairly be reckoned among the contagious diseases. They are, of course, spread not by germs but by psychic contagion, by imitation; but isolation of the pupils and school closure are sometimes just as necessary as in case of measles or scarlet fever; and the importance of a scientific mode of treatment in such epidemics seems to be clearly shown by the cases on record.

Among the more obvious of these psychic epidemics are those where the chief symptoms seem to be a form of hysterical convulsions. Several epidemics of this kind in public schools have now been reported. I choose two of these which are instructive from one school in Switzerland.

1893 in a girl's school in Basel an epidemic of this kind broke out, and this was made the subject of a special study by Dr. Aemmer. The chief symptom of the disorder was an hysterical tremor. This attacked especially the weaker and more nervous children. The school was clearly the focus of contagion and the desire to get rid of school work seems to have been an important factor in causing the disorder.

The presence of psychic contagion was obvious. Dr. Aemmer concluded that the epidemic was chiefly due to imitation. The cases were concentrated. The disorder spread from those first attacked into other classes. It decreased during vacation and broke out again after vacation. The attacks were rare or ceased altogether as soon as the children were kept at home. There was often a relapse when they returned to school again. The disease frequently appeared among children who had before been healthy when one of the sufferers had an attack in the immediate neighborhood; and when one child had an attack others did also.

The measures that seemed finally effective were as follows: Every child attacked was sent home. Children that were cured were excused from writing and manual work and gymnastics for the first three weeks after returning to school;

parents were requested to spare their children excitement and strain; poor children were fed; the feeding of the sick children was extended over vacation time and united with walks and play out of doors. But not until these measures had been carried out for a long time did the epidemic cease.

By what seems to have been a remarkable coincidence a similar epidemic of nervous convulsions broke out in the same school about ten years later, namely, in 1904. The epidemic continued four weeks. The cases occurred in fourteen different classes. The age of the pupils who suffered was from eleven to fifteen. The characteristic symptom was a quick vibrating tremor usually in the right hand and in the right forearm. The predisposing causes seemed to be often anæmia, or nervous heredity; but in many cases they were indefinite. The immediate cause in most cases was imitation or auto-suggestion, although it was reported to have been fright in a few cases. That the desire to get rid of school work was also a predisposing cause seems to have been clear.

On the 11th of June the report was first circulated that the tremors had broken out in the girl's school and that they would get a lengthened holiday, namely, six weeks for the summer's vacation. In one building the rumor was that there would be six weeks of the summer's vacation if 300 pupils had the tremors. On the 13th of June it was reported that two pupils in one school had been sent home on account of the tremors. On the following day two further cases occurred, in another schoolhouse also two more. The number continued until altogether there were 27 cases.

The school officials, however, had learned wisdom. Instead of sending the afflicted pupils to their home or closing the school the announcement was made that school would continue in session as usual, and it was made clear that the contraction of this disorder would not be a means of escaping from the work of the school.

The method of treatment was very interesting. Dr. Burckhardt proposed that they should not exclude the afflicted girls from the school, but form them into a special class and have them instructed separately from the other pupils. Accordingly a small room was taken for the purpose and a special teacher opened the class on the 17th of June, and this was continued for four weeks.

Talking with the pupils seemed to be helpful. As soon as a case occurred in a class the pupils were appealed to, to use their reason, and as soon as the special class for the patients was opened, and especially after the pupils had nicknamed this the *Naarestibli*, "Fool-institute," this appeal to the pupils was no longer necessary.

Special care was taken of these pupils in the special class. The hours were short; the pupils worked from quarter past eight in the morning until half past nine and then there was a recess for half an hour; then they worked from ten to quarter of twelve and then there was no further work until from quarter past two until three forty-five. The children were given warm milk and bread for a lunch. They had simple gymnastic exercises beginning with free exercises. Ten simple arm and hand movements were employed. The instruction covered all the chief branches of the curriculum. Care was taken that the children should not be overworked. There was only one case of negligence. There were few cases of absences, namely, only four out of 444 half days, only one absence for illness.

A great deal of common sense and psychological insight was used in the treatment of these cases. The calmer children were placed in the front seats. The children were not questioned or punished or blamed on account of failure in their lesson.

School work was not much affected, except in some cases the penmanship and arithmetic. The pupils of this special class seemed to enjoy their work. They were reported as being very happy, and they seemed to develop a certain group consciousness and group spirit. They named their class the *Zitterklub Konkordia*.

A single concrete case is described as follows: The patient, E. S., was a girl of 13 years of age, weak and anæmic. On Friday, the 17th of June, she came home carrying her right hand, which trembled violently, in her apron. The mother scolded her for acting so like a fool. This had the effect on the quiet timid girl of making the excitement all the greater. The nervous twitchings appeared in the face also when the child attempted to answer; and this tremor in the face continued for about an hour. The mother who could not understand why the movements could not be repressed firmly bandaged the child's arm. The tremor did not stop but pain in the elbow joint ensued.

On the 18th of June E. S. came to the special class. She trembled so violently that writing was impossible for her. She was unable to answer the easiest questions and could not work with one place numbers in arithmetic. On Monday, the 20th of June, during a conversation during the ten o'clock recess her arm was unobtrusively massaged by the teacher, whereupon the movements became weaker. On Tuesday, the 21st of June, toward evening the tremor ceased. On Wednesday the pupil was calm and a surprising improvement in mental activity ensued, so that her performance was in no way behind

that of her classmates. On the 24th of June, she was dismissed from the class; and no more convulsions occurred.

Imagine 27 such cases and you have the *Zitterklub Konkordia*.

The great advantage of pedagogical treatment in such cases, and the wisdom of the special classes instead of school closure, seem to have been clearly demonstrated. The epidemic was soon over.

There were only six cases of relapse.

The noteworthy things in regard to this epidemic are as follows:

1st. The *tremor hystericus* as it was called was a purely psychic phenomenon. There was no pathological change of the nervous system at the basis of it.

2nd. It attacked especially the anæmic and nervous girls; and in most cases was caused by imitation, but also in some cases by fright and auto-suggestion.

3rd. It consisted in a quick vibrating tremor, most frequently in the right hand and in the right forearm, less often in the left hand and in the left forearm and upper arm or in the lower extremities.

4th. The treatment was purely a pedagogical one. The checking of the spread of the disorder was brought about by isolating the patients; and the cure of the individual was brought about by general improvement of the health, by talking to the patient, by regular occupation and by distraction of attention. Strengthening of the will and making the patient forget the tremor were helpful. In every case mildness and patience were necessary; great severity was harmful.

This study is instructive, not merely because it indicates how similar epidemics should be treated, but also because it suggests a helpful mode of treatment for what may be called certain moral, or immoral, epidemics that frequently occur in the schools.

The results of the few investigations that have been described are enough perhaps to show the importance of European investigations in Child Hygiene.

Certain definite facts in regard to these so-called children's diseases should be emphasized. First of all, although the children of to-day are the descendants of generations who have survived these diseases and are relatively immune, nevertheless, the mortality from such diseases in the early years of life is very serious. According to the rough statistics of the United States census the annual mortality from measles is nearly 13,000; from scarlet fever, over 6,000; whooping cough, nearly 10,000.¹

¹ Woods Hutchinson: *op. cit.*

Second, the prevalence of these diseases seriously handicaps school work. According to Mr. Martin, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, "In consequence of the presence of some infectious disease, chiefly diphtheria, scarlet fever, or measles, during the school year of 1906-7, 318 school-rooms" in Massachusetts were closed and classes dismissed. These rooms were in seventy towns and the classes included 12,122 children.¹

I have spoken especially of diphtheria, taking this as an illustration. It is now well known that this is a preventable disease. With proper isolation and general scientific management it has been estimated that this, along with other school diseases, could be eliminated from the world in ten years. It would in any case probably be possible in a short time to make the danger of a child's contracting this disease in a schoolroom as slight as that of his being attacked by a lion on the way to school in one of our urban communities. This at least is the aim of hygiene.

The school being a place where practically all of the children are collected offers an unusual opportunity for controlling and checking these diseases. The adoption of scientific methods would mean the saving of the taxpayer's money, the saving of much suffering, and the saving of the lives of thousands of children.

¹Annual Report of the Bd. of Education, 1906-7, p. 93.

THE HEALTH OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

By JESSE D. BURKS, Ph. D.

Child *welfare* and ideas *about* child welfare are very different though not necessarily opposed matters. It is commonplace, of course, to moralize upon the discrepancies between theory and practice. It is deplorable, nevertheless, that relatively so much energy should be directed toward the acquirement of more general knowledge regarding the health of school children and so little toward the study of conditions in specific communities with a view to using the facts as the basis for a constructive health programme.

Knowledge and practice obviously ought to go hand in hand, each supplementing and testing the other. In spite of the inadequacy of our knowledge of child and school hygiene, however, there is enough known to revolutionize the practice of our schools.

The simple matter of per capita need of pupils for fresh air is a striking example. Any one who has given the slightest attention to the facts knows that at least 1,800 cubic feet of fresh air for each pupil must be introduced every hour into a classroom in order to dilute the vitiated air to the safety point; and yet one rarely finds a school or a classroom that is not offensive and distressing by reason of foul, unwholesome air. Facts regarding ventilation may be very definitely and very readily measured; yet a student of school hygiene would have to seek long to find a school report in which such facts are presented.

This discrepancy between what is known and what is carried into practice regarding ventilation is merely illustrative of a general situation. Among the many evidences of the large share of public attention that is being given to ideas *about* the health of school children, the following at once come to mind:

1. Legal requirements in almost all of our states for the teaching of hygiene and in many for the medical examination of pupils; and legal standards for the ventilation and sanitation of school buildings.

2. Provision in the curricula of practically all of our organized school systems for instruction in personal hygiene and for some form of physical training.

3. Data in many school reports concerning the number of defects found among children and cases "recommended for treatment."

4. Corps of medical inspectors, and codes of rules defining their duties and procedure.

5. Discussions and recommendations in the reports of superintendents of schools dealing with various problems of physical welfare.

6. Scholarly papers and urgent resolutions in the proceeding of medical societies, teachers associations, and conferences on child welfare.

A little first-hand experience with conditions as they actually prevail in schoolrooms and among school children, however, soon convinces the student that there is often a yawning gulf between the enactment of laws on hygiene and their enforcement; that school curricula do not always accurately describe school practice; that elaborate tables in printed reports do not necessarily imply an intelligent plan of action; that a corps of medical inspectors does not invariably ensure efficient medical inspection; that superintendents of schools occasionally make recommendations that they have not the intelligence, interest, or courage to carry into effect; and that preambles, resolutions, and declarations of principles do not automatically produce results conducive to health.

To ascertain whether or not a community is really meeting effectively the health needs of its school children, we must therefore go behind the laws prescribing the organization and procedure of the medical inspection service and behind any merely general description of the methods and results of such service. Evidence of efficiency is to be sought in such facts as the following: Schoolroom windows open and school children's mouths closed; playgrounds in use and feather dusters out of use; adequate lighting and proper warming of schoolrooms; teeth free from decay and breath free from odors; tuberculous children in open-air schoolrooms; records that tell the complete health story of every child; summary reports that tell clearly and fully the story of the entire group of children—examinations, re-examinations, conferences with parents, defects found, treatments recommended, treatments received, and results obtained; systematic and prompt attention to suspicious symptoms; exclusion and isolation of contagious disease cases; effective quarantine; teachers and pupils who find unclean air, unclean floors, and unclean bodies repulsive.

As an illustration of the lack of correspondence between what a community thinks it is doing and what it is actually doing to promote the health of its school children, the result of a recent study of the medical inspection service in one of our large cities will be briefly outlined.

The general plan of medical inspection in this city is similar

to that prevailing in many other cities: that is, inspection of special cases where there is suspicion of contagious disease, to determine whether or not pupils shall be excluded; systematic examination of all children, once each year, to discover physical defects; notification of parents and family physician where defects are found and treatment recommended; and follow up work by inspectors and school nurses to make sure, if possible, that the recommended treatment is obtained.

A detailed study of the original records of inspection and examination showed that the time actually spent by inspectors in the schools averaged less than half of the five hours a day that they were expected to give, in some cases the time so spent being as low as 27% and in no cases higher than 66%; and that 60% of the inspectors' time was being given to the detection of an almost negligible number of contagious disease cases in which pupils were excluded from school. There were no definite standards employed in the sanitary inspection of school buildings; no uniform standard as to what should be considered a physical "defect" or what should be reported as a case "receiving treatment;" pupils with errors of refraction being reported as "treated" when they were supplied with an eye wash, and pupils with adenoids when they began to use a gargle.

The methods employed by inspectors in making examinations were far from uniform, and there was the widest variation among inspectors in the percentage of various defects found; each inspector apparently looking for the defects in which he chanced to have a special interest. A specially chosen inspector, upon re-examining a large group of pupils originally examined by several inspectors in the routine way, reported about double the number of physical defects that had originally been noted; and a similar re-examination of a group who had been reported by inspectors as having received treatment, showed that less than half had received treatment in any proper sense.

Ten per cent. of a large group of pupils whose records were carefully reviewed were found to have had no examination during five consecutive years; and over one-third of the group to have had only one examination within this period. The average time taken by inspectors in making a physical examination of a pupil was found to vary from six seconds to five minutes.

It is obvious that the medical inspection service of this community was practically without supervision. Although reports, according to the regulations in force, were to be rendered daily to the central office, it was found that

several of the inspectors made no reports whatever during long periods, in some instances as long as seven months. The supervising officer, in other words, had no trustworthy and current means for informing himself concerning the fidelity and efficiency with which the several inspectors were performing their work.

The results of this investigation could doubtless be duplicated in any one of many communities whose medical inspection service is commonly thought to be an effective safeguard to the physical welfare of its school children. Such disclosures emphasize the fact that well intentioned men, faultless laws, and excellent ideas about child welfare do not automatically guarantee conditions favorable to child welfare. Defective organization and faulty technique are the cause of more inefficiency and waste, in the public service as well as in private enterprise, than all forms of "graft" and infidelity combined.

THE DISCIPLINE OF WORK

By FREDERICK P. FISH

My chief qualification for addressing you on the subject which I am to discuss is that I am not an expert. I have been able to give no special study to any phase of the admirable work that is now being carried on in the direction of caring for our children, training our children, securing for them such opportunities that they may all be, as far as possible, happy, useful and serviceable members of society. Very many of the questions involved in this movement are expert questions. In fact, there is no phase of the subject in which the expert is not essential, in which his views, which are based on study and the scientific application of sound principles to the facts, are not ultimately to be controlling. But we are all interested in children. Many of us have children of our own whom we have observed and studied. We all feel a keen sympathy for other people's children and every one of us has the great advantage of having been a child himself. Most of us remember some of the things that we thought and did, some of our aspirations, aptitudes and attitudes as children; so that there is a large class in the community which has not given any special attention to the definite, scientific study of these fundamentally interesting and important questions but which all the same is in touch with them. That class has ideas and views of its own and the experts want to be very careful to get at those ideas and those views for more reasons than one. I am not at all sure but that very frequently the vague, half conscious views of those of us who have simply lived with the child question and have observed it as an incident may have very great value. It may well be that if in time there proves to be a definite issue between the theories of the expert and the instincts of the community, the expert may have to revise his views, for they probably will not be right if they are contrary to those instincts. For that reason, those who are studying these questions should recognize that the outsider who has not been able to deal with the problem scientifically is entitled to be heard. The expert should listen to him. Moreover, no such movement as the one which is now developing and which this conference exemplifies can succeed ultimately unless it carries with it the plain people who do not know much of anything about the expert side of

such questions. They must be influenced in the right way to co-operate in the good work. The thoughts that are expressed must seem to them reasonable. The practical suggestions that are made must seem sane and adequate and likely to result in an advancement of the interests of the child. Only proper legislation must be sought. This phase of the subject is very important from every point of view. The public must be with any movement which, as is the case with this for the improvement of the condition of children, touches the heart, the interest, the sentiment of every individual. For these reasons, I am sure that there was no impropriety in your asking a man who had no special knowledge to speak to you on this general question.

In speaking I am going to forget as far as I can the little that I do know that is at all technical or the result of reading. I am going to forget the little that I have absorbed from Froebel and Pestalozzi and from Dr. Hall, and speak as a plain citizen. Of course, the fact that I have the honor of being on the State Board of Education gives me a special interest in the whole subject of the training and development of the child but that does not qualify me to speak with any authority. We are there to support our Commissioner and our Deputy Commissioners, who are our experts, to check them if necessary but always to encourage them, to aid them and even to advise them, but we are not the experts.

If there is any one thing of which I myself am convinced as a man who has kept his eyes open and has observed and thought on his own account as he has struggled along in the harness of actual practical endeavor, it is that work is not only one of the most noble and important but one of the most glorious things in life. To a reasonable, sane man who is not too self conscious and not too greedy, the "joy of work" affords a great part of the "play" of manhood. I firmly believe that in childhood it is pretty hard to draw practically a sound and definite distinction between the zest and the pleasure of work and play. I know that was so in my own case and of course every one is biased by his own experience and his own recollections of the things that he thought and did and hoped and suffered in earlier years. As far back as I can remember I was in the habit of going to my father and begging him to give me what I called a "stent." I had almost forgotten that word until it came back to me a short time ago. It meant a definite piece of work and from the time I could walk and think, I used to be asking for that "stent." Sometimes it was to weed a piece of the yard; sometimes it was to split a certain amount of kindling wood; sometimes it was to plant or water or make something. It

was a definite pleasure for me to have that "stent." Of course, if it had been too arduous, it would not have been a pleasure, but coming as it did, it was play and I looked at it as such, and I think that it did me a large amount of good. It taught me what was growing in the garden. It taught me what things had to be done. It taught me what work was. It was a mighty good training for me. It was discipline. It gratified my desire to achieve, to accomplish something. It gave me self respect.

I believe that every child (and I am not talking merely of poor children or those who have to work for pay) should be encouraged to work from the time they are encouraged to do anything. I believe that they should be encouraged to work for very many reasons. One is the obvious reason that if they are encouraged to work and do work, they learn what work is. They learn the discipline of work; they learn the joy of achievement. That is a fundamental lesson which is of the utmost importance in life and the sooner the child learns it the better. The sooner he begins to realize that from the time he begins to live until he dies, there is work to be done and pleasure and satisfaction in doing it, the better it is for him. More than that, he learns to do individual things in that way and the more things he learns to do, the better it is for him all his life. A most unfortunate phase of child existence to-day is that there is no longer that large amount of incidental work, the work about the farm, in the kitchen, in the woodshed and in the stable, that was possible to so much larger a proportion of the boys and girls of fifty or seventy-five years ago. There is no longer the opportunity of associating intimately with men and women who are at work,—following the farmer, sitting at the feet of the shoemaker or of the blacksmith, working with the seamstress or with the housekeeper, who did things with their hands that are not done in the house at all to-day or are done by machines. All that old life helped to develop the sound idea that there was work to be done, that everybody had to have a hand in it, that there was a delight in its accomplishment, and that seeking and finding work, doing one's share of the work with the resulting joy of achievement, were things to be fostered and to be developed, not only in childhood but to the very end of one's life in all departments of endeavor, and that unless that lesson was learned just about as I have stated it, a man or a woman could not be happy in this world but would be out of place and abnormal. These things must be learned and they are easily and naturally learned in childhood.

It cannot be denied that when children are turned loose to play, a very large part of their play is real work. They

make it so by a sound instinct. They select forms of effort which require intelligence and manual, physical exertion. They imitate the serious efforts of after life. It is not uncommon for very young children to spend half a day digging in a sand heap. Now digging in a sand heap is no different from digging in a garden and their "play" in that sand heap is real work. They lay out fields and roads, pile up mountains and scoop out valleys. They build fences. They do all sorts of things, every one of which involves as well as copies real work. They like that sort of thing; they like to get hold of a tool. It is play for children to whittle. They enjoy using a plane or a chisel. It delights them to produce something that is real and that shows the result of effort.

Again, going back to my own boyhood, I remember with the greatest pleasure a piece of real work such as I could not do now. A gale blew down two very large trees right across our front walk. Early the next morning I was out with an axe and spent two or three days on those trees, chopping them into pieces and moving them away. No one asked me to do it. It was simply an opportunity to develop normal activity in a form which was attractive. If I had not been doing that, which was real work, I should have been finding some other way to "play." Certainly the achievement of chopping those great trees into blocks was of value for a boy of my age. It was play in the form of real work. As the result of my own experience, I believe that the desire to accomplish things, if it is nothing more than to move a pile of bricks from one end of the yard to the other and then to move them back again, is strong in every child and that all aspiration in that direction should be definitely encouraged as fitting the child for his or her work in life. I believe that if a child develops an interest and willingness in the direction of work, it stimulates him in all other directions. I do not think myself that a boy who is active in doing the task that is before him, and the girl who is ready to take hold and help wherever there is need of her help, are so likely to be dull scholars when it comes to mere book learning as are those who have never learned to work hard with their hands and to like it. We may find a boy of distinctly practical tastes and no other who, when set to mere book work, may not correlate such work with the life that he knows and is interested in, but as a rule the very same qualities which make him active and energetic in doing with his hands the work that is before him and which bring to him a feeling of satisfaction in the achievement that comes from such work well done, will lead him to do his duty in scholastic lines. Sound industrial training not infrequently makes a good scholar out of a poor one, because it

wakes up the boy in one direction and having waked up in one, he becomes alive in all. Work is the same whether it is done with the hands or with the head. It involves the same principles and if children once learn to work, they have mastered a lesson of far reaching application. In all forms of work (and the same is true of play), there is a recognition that there is something to be done, a satisfaction in attacking the problem because we are going to have a still greater satisfaction if we solve it, and an instinctive desire for activity and accomplishment. The further a child gets towards an aptitude and desire for fruitful effort of any kind, the better it will be for him in after life and the sooner he develops in this direction, the better. If it is, as I believe, a natural thing for children to work and if, as I believe, they get a great satisfaction out of it and if, as I believe, work, proper in kind and quality, fits them to a very substantial extent intellectually as well as physically, so that they are better able to deal with the problems of their future life, such work should be encouraged and it should be none the less encouraged, it seems to me, if it is done for gain. It is none the less helpful, it is none the less stimulating, if a child gets pay for it. To go back again to my own experience, I had lots of fun, when I was a boy, in small commercial transactions. We had a fine asparagus bed and I had a contract with my father that if I would keep that asparagus bed weeded, I could sell what asparagus we did not need and keep the proceeds. My income may have been as much as two or three dollars a year from it but it did me more good than the money value. It taught me some of the principles of business. I had to see that the asparagus was cut and tied up as it ought to be cut and tied up to take to market. I had to cut it and deliver it at the right time. I was learning method and discipline. I was learning how to deal with men. It did not do me a particle of harm and it was a piece of work that stimulated me, interested me. I was not hurt a bit by the commercial side of it. I remember earning some money for a Fourth of July by working in a neighbor's hay field and how much I enjoyed the expenditure of the twenty-five cents he paid me! I do not believe that I was very different from other boys. The fact that there is a commercial side to it does not in the slightest degree affect the validity of the proposition that work is good for a child. It does him good and he likes it. If he is paid for it, so much the better.

The question of child labor as it is practised at the present time is not a matter of children working but of the conditions under which they sometimes work. Of course, nothing is more horrible than the way in which children's lives have

been crushed out of them—all hope destroyed, their years blighted by the conditions under which they have been forced or allowed to work in our modern factories. Not only have their hours been too long but the character of the work and the atmosphere have been intolerably bad.

The first question that is to be faced in dealing with this general problem of child labor is: Are the conditions wrong? Not, is it right that children should work? I think we can say immediately that it is right that children should work. But then we come to the question, the answer to which is controlling. We all know that the conditions of modern child labor are in large part absolutely wrong. The fact that the parents in many cases need the proceeds of the child's labor is no justification for it, if the conditions are bad. Unduly hard work, work in a bad atmosphere, work under demoralizing conditions, should not be exacted from grown men, except when the evils are unavoidable, and it is far more serious in the case of the child. These bad conditions must be checked and controlled. Work to which the child is not suited must be eliminated. Society will surely require that the conditions of child labor should be proper. But we must exercise sound discrimination in determining where and under what conditions and to what extent the work is to be suppressed or limited.

It is certain that in view of our aspirations that every child in the community shall be educated, there must be no work for any child that interferes with its getting a proper amount of systematic training in school. Outside of this consideration the question is not of the child's working but of the character and conditions of the work.

It seems to me as a layman that this is the point of view from which the problem must be approached. What are the conditions of work that must be forbidden? We must not seek the absolute suppression of child labor at any age unless that is the only way to get at the result for which we are all so anxious. I do not believe that such is the case after a certain age. I think that child labor should be encouraged provided the conditions can be made right. Instead of being harmful, it is helpful to the child.

There are a great many laws that were carelessly and improvidently passed and there is the greatest temptation to pass such laws. In dealing with child labor it seems to me that it is possible for those of us who are loyal friends of the movement to go too far unless we are very careful. In our zeal we may bring about a system that is not consistent with sound views of human nature, with the child's necessities, with the child's interests.

In dealing with this general question, we should not overlook the many cases in which the child's labor and the proceeds of that labor are of vital importance to the family. We can easily conceive of a case where the small earnings of two children of a family of five children and a widowed mother might raise the standard of living of the entire six persons from one that was inadequate—because the six were only half fed, half clothed, half cared for—to one which was adequate, because these small earnings carried the whole six over the line of destitution, gave them food enough, clothing enough, sustenance, warmth and shelter. Here we come against one of the inevitable conditions which arise in almost every direction in which we think or work and which must result in a compromise. There are two possibilities, each involving evils. We must endeavor to find the reasonable and sensible compromise. The law may easily go too far. It may do more harm than good. It may correct one evil only to accentuate others. We are dealing with such a mass of children. There are so many of them that we cannot treat each case individually. We can only generalize, seeking for the greatest good of the greatest number. Any law will bear harshly in individual cases. We must be sure that our sympathy for the hard lot of the working child does not lead us to seek legislation which may prove to be, as a remedy, worse than the disease.

I heard a story the other day that illustrates the kind of danger there is in ill considered legislation on this matter of child labor. It shows a blemish in the law as it stands. The manager of a corporation of the very highest grade told me that an Italian who worked for him came to him in June and said: "Are you going to put a water boy on this summer"? (A water boy is a boy who carries drinking water to the men.) And he said: "Yes." "Well," said the Italian, "my boy is through school for the season. I have seven children and it would help me very much if you hired my boy because he can earn some shoes and some clothes this summer and I want him very much to go to school next fall properly equipped. "Well," said the manager, "I will hire him." The boy reported at the office but the one who knew the law (which the manager did not know) said at once that to hire that boy in his factory would be contrary to law. And yet, what could be better for that boy than working in the open air, simply carrying water under perfectly clean conditions, associating with mechanics of a high grade in an environment and atmosphere that were good, earning enough to be able to go to school with self respect in the fall, and able to learn much by his association with work and workers during the summer. That boy's summer is wrecked; he probably cannot find any-

thing else to do. He will loaf and may acquire bad habits. He will go back to school in the fall with torn shoes and ragged clothes. In so far as we can, we ought to have our laws so shaped that such a blemish is not possible. While this is an isolated case and the harm done this poor boy is of no great consequence, this incident illustrates the sort of thing we have to guard against.

While we endeavor to look at all these great questions with the utmost fairness, we may easily be carried away by the warmth of our sympathy and also by our own individual eccentricities and our own narrow point of view. We cannot look at this question of child labor as the children themselves that are exposed to the evil look at it, or as their fathers and mothers look at it. To a certain extent the fathers and mothers look at it absolutely in the wrong way, as a mere source of revenue added to their petty wages, and without regard to the real interest of the child. We must recognize that in so far as they look at it in that way only, their views are not of the slightest consequence and must be ignored. But those children live with workers. They know what their fathers and very likely their mothers do from morning to night. It is a tolerable life to them. They know that those around them are pretty cheerful, that they get along fairly well and the children desire and have a worthy ambition, in many cases, to work themselves. I do not think that we altogether realize their point of view.

I was very much impressed by something I saw a few years ago in Syria and by a remark that was made in connection with it. I was in Damascus in the hottest of the hot weather, the last of August and the first of September, a very foolish time to go to Damascus, for the temperature was dreadful, but the air was so dry and the nights were so cool that I never had better health. In Damascus I visited a factory where they made inlaid furniture and inlaid brass work and certain other forms of brass work. That factory like every other building in that country was especially designed for the prevailing temperature. It is astonishing how much skill those Syrians have shown in their dwellings and places of business, from the humblest to the most elaborate, to keep as cool as they can. The buildings have enormously thick walls with openings to the air everywhere and with one passage after another all laid out as I could easily see, with a great deal of intelligence to ensure all the combinations of draught that were possible. The moment I got inside that factory I was cool. There was fresh air coming from somewhere in every room. I came into a room where there were a dozen little girls. I do not believe that the oldest was more than nine. Every one of them was actually doing artistic work.

There was not a girl in that room who did not look normal and healthy. There was not a girl in that room who had that anæmic look which goes so to your heart when you enter a factory in Germany or America where small children are employed. I expressed my surprise at seeing such small children at work and the answer I received was: "You do not understand the situation. These children, as soon as they begin to think for themselves, are bound to get to work. That is their life and their training. They know that their fathers and their mothers and their brothers and their sisters are at work, and they are not satisfied until they get to work. These children are in a normal atmosphere for them." That was not quite all. Not only were the physical surroundings good but I am as sure as I can be that these particular children were enormously better off because every one of them was doing an individual piece of artistic work. They were dealing with a thing that interested them, a thing that constantly changed from moment to moment, from which they got a new and satisfactory result with almost every motion of the hand tools with which they were working. For mind as well as body they were working under favorable conditions.

We do not want what was bad in these Syrian conditions here but in dealing with the question, we must take everything into account, the aspirations of the child, his desire to work and to earn, what his father and mother want, what his brothers and sisters want. The atmosphere in which he lives is to be taken into account. In Fall River, for instance, the members of one family of French Canadians may take in two or three thousand dollars a year toward the little fortune that they are trying to accumulate before they can go home to Canada. The entire family is going to be disappointed and discouraged if the members of it do not have an opportunity to indulge their aspiration for a farm of their own at their old home. We must be very careful not to go too far in opposing the instincts of the community. We must seek the golden mean.

Now, another thing: There are any number of children who have the opportunity to work, who, if they don't work will do nothing. If there is any one thing that is cruel to the rising generation, it is to allow the boys and girls to have time on their hands in which they are not doing something in the form of work or of rational amusement or other activity. If children are not to be kept in school all the time, then it is better for them to be at work for part of the time. The vast majority of children do not have the opportunity for sane and healthy recreation. They are necessarily idle, if not at work. And their idleness is most demoralizing. If their time is worse than wasted, when they are not at work, then work is

a blessing and not a curse to them, always provided that it is done under right conditions and that there is not too much of it. Now, of course, "right conditions" and "not too much" leave the question wide open. All that we can do is to take everything into account and work for what seems to us the right conditions. We must not let our children work too much. They must not be allowed to work beyond their strength. We must insist that they shall work only under right conditions. But we must encourage them to work to that extent which is best for them and for the community.

We must also remember that to a large extent, an extent to which I am not sure everybody in this room knows, the parents of those children resent too much interference. The number of parents who resent interference with their children's work is increasing in this country. Also we must not forget that the thought of many of those who have the most sincere interest in the sound development of the child labor movement is that children, rich or poor, ought to be made to work; that work is a form of play, or at any rate germane to play; that the child's happiness and usefulness to society depend upon his having the inclination to work and that we cannot begin to teach him that lesson too soon.

Many of us distrust the tendency of a good deal of legislation and of many of the plans for bettering the condition of working children, and not a few who feel this way are the very people in this community who most of all want to be counted solidly on the side of all sane movements to improve the condition of children, for they take the greatest possible interest in the welfare of children. If every one who is interested in the improvement of the condition of children will remember that the support of that class must be secured, I believe sound progress will be made much more rapidly than if such citizens are ignored.

There is one special thing which occurs to me and which illustrates the spirit in which I should like to see this subject approached. I have already stated that one of the most unfortunate things in a child's life to-day is idleness and that idleness may be promoted if we pursue, blindly, ill considered ideals which result in a waste of the time during which the child would neither play nor work. Such a condition would lead to incapacity which is serious enough, but it would also lead to vice. I believe that if we were to give enough attention to the subject, we might find that it was possible in some way to bring about a correlation between the factory and the school that would be of great value. It has been thought of and tried but under conditions that meant certain failure. Whether it has ever been systematically developed

as a propaganda and worked out, I do not know. Roughly speaking, what I mean is this: Let us assume that for a child 10 or 12 years old, nine hours a day in a factory is criminal, as is probably the case. It does not follow that $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day in a factory is harmful. It does not follow that if a child went to school for half a day and worked for half a day, he would not be better off than if he wasted half his time. It would be perfectly possible for a factory to work on these lines; that is, if the factory needs 100 children, let 50 work in the morning and go to school in the afternoon, and 50 go to school in the morning and to the factory in the afternoon. I do not know whether a child of 8, 10 or 14 could properly be allowed to spend $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day in a factory but if he could, I believe that he would be better off, in many cases at least, than if the situation was such that the children who have this aspiration to work, whose parents want them to work, were to spend a little more than half a day in school and absolutely loafed away the rest of the time in hot alleys or in the tenement quarters of one of our cities. That is one of the ways in which I should like to have the experts approach this subject. They may assume that the community will be with them absolutely and without question on any proposition in which the community is satisfied that there is real danger to the child, but the community wants to know that all phases of the matter have been carefully considered. It wants to know whether or not the experts have given due attention to the value of work to the child, to the inspiration that the child gets from its work, to the balance between the necessity to the family of that child's earnings and the harm to the child because he is at work. It wants to know whether the restrictions that are advocated and imposed are sane and reasonable, are the right compromise; whether all the factors which make up the real interest of the child are taken into account; whether the real interest of the community is taken into account. I am satisfied that there never was a movement that appealed so generally to every one as this for the betterment of the life of the child, and if it is dealt with on lines that inspire confidence in the community and which do not go too far to fight the instincts of a large portion of the people, its results are sure to be most useful to this generation and to future generations. Never under any circumstances should we submit to improper hours or work or improper conditions but we should be sane and reasonable in finding out just the line of demarcation between those that are improper and unreasonable and those that are not improper and not unreasonable. Our plans and our laws should be as far as possible adequate, sane and suitable, and so should be our efforts and our application of the principles upon which we insist.

AN EFFICIENT ORGANIZATION AND ENLARGED SCOPE FOR THE BUREAU OF EDUCATION

By ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN

It is not generally understood that the United States Bureau of Education is equipped with one of the most extensive experiment stations that have ever been provided for an educational institution. The whole area of Alaska with all of its aboriginal population, presents a concrete problem of colossal difficulty. The number of those to be educated, to be sure, is not large, perhaps not over twenty-five thousand. But they are of different races and traditions and dwell in widely different lands and climates. All are alike in this that they present the conditions of racial childhood. They have all been brought into contact with an advanced civilization and must hereafter live under these new relationships. Civilization has brought to them vices more degrading than those they had known, together with ideals higher than they can readily comprehend. Under this double bewilderment they are to be trained toward a new self-reliance to the end of ultimate self-government.

The problem clearly goes beyond that of teaching children the ways of the schools, and becomes a problem of educating whole communities. In this respect it resembles the problem of educating the new foreign populations in our great cities. It is not the refinements of scholastic instruction which must be chiefly employed but recourse must be had to the methods of the social settlement and of the home-and-school association, methods appealing to adults and families as well as to little children.

But again, the problem is broader than this; for it concerns itself not only with the improvement of community units but with the whole educative interaction of a favored race upon a race that has hitherto been backward and unenlightened. The whole question as to the duty of civilization to barbarism and backwardism is here.

What I wish to emphasize to-day is the treatment of our Alaska work as an integral part of the work of the Bureau of Education. While it is an end in itself and must be faithfully pursued as an end in itself, it is also a laboratory and a demonstration plant. In it the Education Office has an opportu-

nity of trying out—under really trying circumstances—the plans of educational improvement in which the members of its staff are concerned. In a measure, this is a new attitude toward the Alaskan service. We have been approaching it gradually, but it has not been hitherto so fully adopted nor so clearly recognized as it is this year. The closer integration of the two branches of the Bureau has been emphasized this year by the transfer of Dr. Updegraff from the headship of the Alaska work to the position of specialist in school administration, and by the calling of Mr. Lopp from his field superintendence in Alaska, where he had been an efficient lieutenant of Dr. Updegraff's, to be the new chief of the Alaska division.

The history and external conditions of the Alaskan service are such that it can even yet be taken as representing only in part the spirit and purpose of the reorganized Bureau. But I am aware that it will be so understood by many, and to a fair degree I am willing that it should be so understood. Those who wish to make out what the Bureau is now trying to do educationally, should accordingly look to its work in Alaska for one of the indications as to the course which it is taking.

Let me now tell a few things about the new Alaska work. Three years ago the Congress increased the appropriation for the education of these natives, from the sum of \$100,000 annually to that of \$200,000. In consequence of this increase, new villages have been reached and 36 new schoolhouses have been erected within the past two years, nearly doubling the number of schools.

The new buildings commonly provide, in addition to the schoolroom, a special room for industrial education, living quarters for the teacher, and a room in which visiting natives may be received. The ordinary schooling of the native children is continued and its general excellence is fairly well assured by the fact that three-fifths of the teachers are now graduates of reputable normal schools and colleges. But especial stress is now laid upon sanitary and industrial instruction, upon the moral training that goes with such instruction, and upon the extension of these activities to the adult members of the native community. Here is a fairly definite programme, and one which already gives signs of working efficiency.

This paper would be overbalanced on the Alaska side if I were to go far into the details of this new work. I must accordingly refer you for more extended information to the published reports. One who wishes to find the matter presented in a general survey and summary, should read the chapter on education in Alaska in the second volume of my annual report for the year 1909. One who would go further into particulars is referred to the same chapter as reprinted

in pamphlet form, with appendixes presenting the text of letters and reports from superintendents, physicians, and teachers in the Alaska service.

The disposition to get into the real business of education which is shown in the Alaska division, is, I think, taking strong hold of the more general work of the Bureau. There are two ways especially in which this disposition is made manifest, and these two ways work into each other. I refer, first, to the work of specialists and secondly to work in the field.

Many of you know of the radical reorganization of the library of the Bureau two or three years ago, by Mr. William Dawson Johnston. It was an extraordinary piece of work, which found recognition in Mr. Johnston's call to Columbia University as successor to Dr. Canfield. The library has definitely cut away from the more amateurish methods of an earlier day. While much remains to be done, the tradition of expert and professional work is pretty well established in this division.

The editorial division has been strengthened by the provision by Congress for a professional editor. While the man first employed in that position has been obliged by illness to withdraw from the service, there is promise of a good step forward in the direction of expert work in this division.¹

These two divisions, however, do their work mainly at Washington. Yet their relation to the building up of a field service is important. It is of incalculable advantage to the field force of such a Bureau that they shall be able to depend upon expert reference work in the library of the central office, expert service in the collection and cataloguing of documents, and expert editing of the publications which their investigations shall have shown to be needed.

The most important step recently taken toward a direct combination of field work with specialized studies, is the establishment of the new division of school administration. This division concerns itself with the administration of state and city school systems. Dr. Updegraff has been placed at its head, and he is supported by a small but efficient staff of assistants. Two immediate results to be expected from this arrangement are the better organization of our work in the compilation and indexing of school legislation, and the promotion of desirable uniformities in school statistics. Arrangements have been made with the Bureau of the Census and with the newly organized National Association of School Accounting Officers and the new committee of the Depart-

¹ Since the above was written, Mr. M. B. Hillegas, of New York, has been appointed as editor, to enter upon the duties of the office September 1, 1910.

ment of Superintendence of the National Education Association, which promise positive improvements in the statistical portions of our school reports. Especially significant, moreover, is the fact that the head of this division is already spending much time in the field, and his investigations are touching the real needs of real schools.

Another agent has been sent into the field during the past year, namely, a specialist in the work of land-grant colleges. The responsibility of the Bureau of Education for the distribution of Federal funds to these colleges, is such that work of this kind can be made extremely useful and significant. I have, in fact, great hope for the outcome of the undertaking. One man employed in this position has already been called away from us by a larger salary elsewhere; but Mr. Monahan, a Massachusetts man, who has been called to succeed him, will enter upon the duties of the office to-morrow (July 1).

A third field specialist, in higher education, has just been provided by the Congress at an annual salary of three thousand dollars. This is the largest salary that has ever yet been paid to a subordinate in the Education Bureau. A work of vast possibilities and responsibilities opens up before this new official, whoever he may be. Every effort will be made to provide him with conditions favorable for such a work.¹

I am making no attempt to tell all about the newer activities of the office. Instead, I am merely singling out a few of the leading lines of advance, and endeavoring to bring them before you in the fewest words possible. It will be reasonably clear, I think, that the building up of a staff of specialists, with particular reference to work in the field, is already well begun. While this is not the only new undertaking with which we are concerned, there is no other of greater importance. It may in fact be regarded as the most distinctive feature of the year's work which reaches its close this day.

Leading members of the Sage Foundation, with the concurrence of leading members of the National Education Association, have entered upon a campaign, the object of which is to press this undertaking forward, in the immediate future, and give to it much greater weight and significance. It is a most encouraging fact that such a movement should have arisen spontaneously, from outside the Office concerned, while it is in complete accord and co-operation with the plans which have been framed within the Office. These plans have for some years been pressed, by the Commissioner in charge, upon the attention of the authorities concerned. I should

¹ Since the above was written, Dr. Kendric Charles Babcock, president of the University of Arizona, has been appointed as specialist in higher education, to enter upon the duties of the office in November, 1910.

like accordingly to take this opportunity of expressing my strong approval and appreciation of the campaign referred to. While it is an independent movement, it has not been inaugurated without full consultation with the present management of the Bureau, and a full understanding that its objects are identical with those toward which the efforts of the Bureau itself are directed.

It should be added that so far as Congressional action is concerned the outlook for the success of such an undertaking has greatly improved within the life of the present Congress, that is, within the past sixteen months. A good many members of Congress have helped to bring about this encouraging change. Some of them have devoted much thought and effort to the matter. There is time here to mention only two of them by name, Mr. Gillett, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Burke, of Pennsylvania. Congressman Burke, as the new chairman of the House Committee on Education, has infused new life into that committee and has made it a strong support of the Bureau of Education. Mr. Gillett, as chairman of the subcommittee having in charge some of the appropriations in which we are chiefly interested, has helped the Bureau to get everything that was officially asked for it during the year just past, and has warmly advocated its cause on the floor of the House.

It is never to be forgotten that the widening of the scope of the Bureau of Education does not involve any invasion of the educational autonomy of the states. This may well be said again, however, because it is a point on which doubt is sometimes expressed. But even within its necessary limitations, the work that the Bureau can do if given the larger equipment which is proposed, will surely be of incalculable importance. Those who are working in hard fields and at hard problems throughout the land should feel a new sense of reinforcement and inspiration when a well organized band of specialists shall have been assembled in our central Education Office, and when their lines of influence and information shall have gone freely forth to the points of greatest need. Let me repeat that this programme is no longer a dream, but in its beginnings it is already a reality, while the prospect of carrying it forward to the first stage of well-rounded development, was never brighter than it is to-day.

But we must not for a moment think that the equipping of the office with ten or twelve competent specialists, together with adequate clerical support and provision for travel and publication, is anything more than a first stage of advancement. Already we must project our plans into the larger future. It is fitting that a few words be added here concern-

ing that more adequate organization of the Federal agencies of education which begins to bulk against the horizon.

I have not been enthusiastic over proposals to establish immediately a Department of Education which should do substantially the same work that is now done by a Bureau. The present Bureau is fairly well placed in the Department of the Interior, and with such departmental support as it has received of late it can do a vastly greater work without any change of status. But there are new movements afloat which may at any time make a change of status desirable, if not imperative. Take for instance the proposals for the creation of a Department of Public Health, for the extension of Federal aid to industrial schools, and for the creation of a Children's Bureau. These are all of them proposals for Federal activities touching the intimately personal interests of our citizens. Now, one consideration to be strongly emphasized here is the following: That under modern conditions all such interests as these are primarily educational interests. Whatever else may be in them, the thing that in the long run is most forceful, massive, and significant about them shapes up in some phase or form of education. We shall be true to the modern spirit in dealing with these interests, when we push their educational motive to the front. In no other way can they be so unified and vitalized.

So I think that when any of these things or all of them together shall be brought up to departmental proportions in the Government at Washington, education should be placed in the forefront of the new departmental organization. I am inclined to believe, for example, that there is need of a Department of Public Health; but if so, the new department would be safest and most promising if it were made a Department of Education and Public Health, or if you please to word it so, a Department of Science and the Arts.

In such a department, a bureau of educational research, one of educational administration, and perhaps two or three others on the educational side, might be ranged alongside of several bureaus dealing with different aspects of public health, while a bureau of children's welfare should occupy an advantageous position between these groups.

So far as the proposed Children's Bureau is concerned, an arrangement like this seems to me particularly desirable. It is greatly to be hoped that such an office, when it comes into existence, shall be so constituted as not to trench upon ground already occupied, but yet so as to enter into effective co-operation with the most nearly related offices. I have already pointed out to Senator Flint the reasons for doubting whether the bill that bears his name is sufficiently guarded on these points. But the ideal adjustment here seems possible only

in a Department in which all of these related agencies shall be grouped together, and one having for its main business the fostering of such agencies.

If a children's bureau measure which shall be satisfactory in these particulars cannot be secured from the next session of Congress, I should like to suggest a return to the plan of three years ago, of making provision for the beginning of this work through a division of the Bureau of Education; with the expectation that it will develop into a separate bureau, or more than one separate bureau, when the departmental grouping and organization of all of these related subjects shall finally be brought to pass.

Referring now for a moment to another of the human-interest measures now before Congress, the Dolliver-Davis Bill for Federal aid to industrial schools, I should say that some of the imperfections in this measure point again to the ultimate need of a Federal department in which education shall be the organizing centre. It is provided, in the latest form of this bill which I have seen, that no one department shall have full control of the distribution of the Federal bounty, but that it shall be given out under the supervision of the Department of the Interior, with some indefinite co-operation, possibly amounting to a power of veto, on the part of the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Commerce and Labor; and provision is made for the continuation and the enlargement of the activity of those co-operating departments in the educational field. Such an arrangement could have, I believe, only a temporary value. The permanent dispersion of the educational services of the National Government could lead only to uncertainty, inefficiency, and waste. Education is coming to be so organic and dominant an interest of our modern life, that we must look to an eventual concentration of the Federal activities in this field, rather than their permanent distribution over unrelated offices. Yet such a concentration can probably be carried into full effect only in a department organized primarily for educational purposes.

We cannot afford to dogmatize on these questions, when we are dealing with plans for which no real precedent is available. The convictions which I have expressed are all of them held subject to change if new light shall show the need of change. But of so much as this I am reasonably confident: That the times demand the enlargement and better working out of our plans for the education of American citizens; that some of the next steps to be taken in that direction by the Bureau of Education lie along the lines that have been indicated in this paper; and that those who are working in different parts of the field have need to keep in the most effective and sympathetic co-operation.

AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

By OWEN R. LOVEJOY

The general purposes of the National Child Labor Committee were so briefly stated at the date of its organization and have been so consistently followed during its six years history we can best introduce this discussion by repeating them:

- To promote the welfare of society, with respect to the employment of children in gainful occupations.
- To investigate and report the facts concerning child labor.
- To raise the standard of public opinion and parental responsibility with respect to the employment of children.
- To assist in protecting children by suitable legislation against *premature* or otherwise *injurious* employment, and thus to aid in securing for them an opportunity for elementary education and physical development sufficient for the demands of citizenship and the requirements of industrial efficiency.
- To aid in promoting the enforcement of laws relating to child labor.
- To co-ordinate, unify and supplement the work of State or local Child Labor Committees, and encourage the formation of such committees where they do not exist.

It is evident from this brief recital that the Committee has outlined not only an exceedingly broad and ambitious mission, but also one definitely limited.

The name was chosen advisedly. This organization does not seek to be a permanent association with extensive machinery and material assets which might serve at times as a source of strength, but at other times as an impediment to progress. It deliberately chose to be a committee. It undertakes to look existing situations in the face; to investigate conditions; stimulate public opinion and parental responsibility; to promote the enactment of sane legislation and adequate enforcement of the same; and to co-ordinate and unify all elements in society that may be brought to active and helpful interest in this great subject.

Following the usual policy of committees, when it has reached conclusions upon all or any of these subjects it immediately rises to report. It recognizes the temporary nature of its organic life and eagerly seeks the fulfillment of that mission which will make it unnecessary for the committee longer to exist. It has taken upon itself an obligation to

the American public which will be fulfilled when child labor has ended, and the public moves that the report of the committee be accepted and the committee discharged.

I. The field of any organization is necessarily a matter of selection. If one society could be formed for the general welfare of the human race and the promotion of all interests that contribute to human welfare, such a society could obviously not refuse to undertake any inquiry or activity that any considerable group of intelligent people might deem important. Just as obviously, however, an organization so broad would never be able to rise above sea-level. Once grant the principle of limited action and the principle upon which this Committee determines its policies is conceded, the wisdom of those policies only remaining as matter of debate. We realized from the first that all the achievements we contemplated needed a broad basis which only careful research could afford. We might have undertaken to get *de novo* every bit of evidence required on which to base our policies of action. But we regarded it the part of wisdom and economy to accept and at once apply the volume of information already gathered by the patient labors of others. Accordingly, we have courted the greatest possible co-operation with physicians, educators, child psychologists and social workers concerning health, education, recreation and the care of the abnormal, dependent and delinquent child.

Fortunately for our work, the Committee was formed at a time when interest in the nature and welfare of the child had reached a point of development unprecedented in history. Our school systems, from kindergarten to university, were adapting themselves to the needs of the child. Medical science had undergone a radical revolution by the development of the specialized science of pediatrics. Societies for prevention of cruelty to children, and children's protective alliances and juvenile courts and probation systems were rapidly spreading a network of protection for the sick, the orphaned, the neglected, the delinquent and the defective. All these varied forces working for the improvement of the conditions of childhood have been indebted to the patient researches which in America have been most intensively carried on within the walls of this university under the direction and inspiration of that brilliant leader, who stands as the most renowned specialist in the science of child study. A first duty was for us to carefully survey what had been accomplished and what was being done, and to build our policies on the achievements of that multitude of children's friends whose splendid work made ours possible and to supplement through our own investigations whatever necessary

evidence was lacking. This has been our policy and we aim to hold ourselves in readiness to accept and utilize whatever information comes from these students and workers.

But the choice of emphasis in our own work has not been made without deliberate consideration. At its organization the Committee faced a condition which revealed the necessity for pioneering in the most elementary principles. Children of very tender years were found employed in varieties of industry too numerous to be catalogued. From the imperfect returns possible for the Census to collect, it was evident that the volume of child employment was increasing far more rapidly than the population of the country. Eye witnesses of child labor were presenting to the public, from pulpit, press and platform, frequent tales of the maiming or death of little toilers, crushed in the very act of their industrial sacrifice. While deliberate and wanton cruelty to children was being well controlled, we found a large body of most highly respected citizens, contributors to local charities and influential in social and religious circles, who sincerely defended child labor on the ground that work is always a blessing and idleness a curse. Stalwart men in high places who had come up through a childhood of hard work and privation were used as exhibits in proof of the advantage of hard toil.

A number of commonwealths had no law whatever regulating employment of children. A still larger number had laws of the most rudimentary character and with no semblance of machinery for enforcement. A third group of states had enacted laws fairly comprehensive in scope and providing for the establishment and equipment of an enforcing agency, but were without a public sentiment to supply the atmospheric pressure under which such departments can do effective work. In less than ten states was there anything like an adequate method of meeting the ever increasing problem of child labor, or anything comparable to systems long since established in such European countries as England, Germany, France, Holland and Scandinavia.

The reports of private organizations and government officials in the older European industrial civilizations were unknown except to students, and America was apparently plunging headlong into a repetition of the earlier child exploitation of these older countries, following but exceeding them in its volume.

In facing such a situation, the Committee believed at that time, and maintains the belief, that its policy is not unscientific in carefully selecting and courageously prosecuting its subject of inquiry and its aims of achievement.

It did not wish to minimize the importance of thorough and exhaustive research into every phase of the questions involved. But it elected to utilize such information as was available and proceed in a militant campaign against an obvious social abuse, relying on the efforts of the serious, scientific students in this field as well as upon its own experiences to further shape our policy as we proceed.

This can best be discussed by means of a few concrete illustrations. A recent annual report of the Department of Mines of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania showed that in one branch of the industry, viz.: slate picking in the coal breaker, the proportion of fatalities and accidents to boys sixteen years of age and under was 300% higher than to adults and minors above sixteen. At about the same time the annual report covering all industries under the jurisdiction of the Indiana Department of Factory Inspection showed the physical risk in the case of children sixteen years of age and under to be 250% above that of other workers; while a report of the same order and covering general industries in Michigan showed 450% against the child. But few other states contain any statistical information upon which percentages of accident to children can be based and reports of the Federal Government give no available information on the subject.

What was to be the attitude of a child labor committee in facing such a situation. It was possible, on the one hand, to organize a corps of scientific investigators, stationed at a sufficient number of industrial plants to form an adequate basis for a statistical computation. These investigators might have studied the various industrial processes and the relative danger in each; might have studied more intimately the lives of the children involved to learn to what extent accident was due to the worker's inability to understand orders in English; to what extent due to physical abnormality; to what extent due to excessive hours of labor, climatic conditions, carelessness and other causes. A study of this character conducted through a series of five or ten years would give for all time a mirror of the industrial hazard of child-life in America, the value of which cannot be over-estimated. It would establish beyond question whether the ratio of hazard to the working child throughout the country is 250% as in Indiana, 300% as in the coal breakers of Pennsylvania, 450% as in Michigan, or whether on the whole it is greater or less than 100%. It is a study that should be made and would seem to us an appropriate function of a government which regards the physical well-being of its citizenship a paramount asset. But although we have industriously

gathered all evidence obtainable, we do not consider so large a task incumbent upon this or any privately maintained organization.

With the evidence at hand, the Committee came to substantially the following conclusion: from a general knowledge of childhood, the youth is less cautious than the adult, therefore more susceptible to unusual dangers; information gathered through many years in older industrial civilizations demonstrates the excessive hazard to which working children are exposed; reports from the few commonwealths in America which offer a basis for computation corroborate the testimony of Europe; popular rumor indicates that scarcely a day passed without the sacrifice of some little child in industry, to the ranks of the crippled or to an untimely death. Therefore leaving to industrial experts and medical scientists the more satisfying task of research to determine the exact extent and the exact proportion of accidents to working children, the Committee dedicates itself to the humbler task of seeking to arouse public interest and secure legislation against this sacrifice of childhood, on the assumption that children under sixteen years are unsafe industrial risks and that child labor in certain specific dangerous occupations may without injury to society be suspended. In default of any conclusive evidence that the child ought to be so exposed, this appealed to us as the safe side.

Or consider another question. We believe no scientific report has been submitted to show just what percentage of children are injured by employment at night as compared with those employed by day, and so far as we can learn no exact tables have been compiled to indicate just what diseases especially attack night working children, or just how much shorter lived they are than children who do not work at night. The difficulty of compiling such evidence is increased by the fact that most children who are employed on night shift alternate with day work. However, practically every physician will unhesitatingly affirm that during the years of youth and adolescence the human being should be guarded against unusual exposure, should be guaranteed regular hours of rest, recreation and feeding, and we believe it is the general opinion of mankind that the hours of daylight are better adapted to labor and the hours of night to rest than *vice versa*. When, therefore, we found children ten years of age and under working from ten to twelve hours a night in Southern cotton mills, saw little boys under fourteen years coming from the over-heated glass house at two or three o'clock on raw winter mornings, careless of their exposure to sudden climatic changes; saw groups of little newsboys

and other street traders sleeping in the alleys and courts of our great cities after the exactions of their night labor, and learned from reports in New York and other great cities of the high percentage of defective vision among school children, while as a matter of common knowledge many of these same children were spending from one to six hours every night on fine needlework or kindred occupation in dimly lighted and unventilated tenement rooms, we believed it a safe assumption that a campaign should be waged for the prohibition of industrial employment of all children under sixteen years at night.

The same may be said of the campaign for an eight-hour work-day for children. Our Federal Government has gone on record in favor of a maximum of eight hours for the daily labor of men. A large number of states have done the same—both in relation to state contracts and in the treatment of convicts in reformatories and penitentiaries. The trade union movement is openly committed to it and scientific discovery of the toxin of fatigue is giving promise of the same protection to women. Obviously a day long enough for adult men and women is not too short for undeveloped children. There is widespread complaint against an abuse long ago condemned by President Hall—the confinement of children in poorly ventilated schoolrooms in a day of physical inactivity. The development of the manual arts, the open-air class room and other modern improvements promise to rapidly reduce this evil. But if confinement in a schoolroom is injurious, what of confinement in a factory where often the processes of child labor also compel physical inaction at the almost automatic machine? Under the most objectionable conditions the child is confined in school 1,000 hours annually. In Massachusetts the factory child is confined 3,120 hours a year; and in New York, where the eight-hour day prevails, he is still subjected to 2,496 hours of confinement a year.

A more recent example shows the policy of the Committee in greater extreme. Rumors have reached our office for some time of the demoralized condition of little boys and youth in the night messenger service. Following these investigations it was discovered that a substantial percentage of the work of the night messenger is in catering to the desires and appetites of the most vicious elements in our cities. An investigation was conducted in some thirty cities of nine different states during the past winter, which substantiated the earlier reports of extreme demoralization of night messenger boys. Whether these same boys would have been less demoralized had they not been night messengers, whether

they show a higher percentage of physical wreckage, moral breakdown or industrial inefficiency than is shown by a like number of boys in similar circumstances but not night messengers, cannot be determined.

But we know that one State Industrial School in New York State shows that of 378 inmates examined, 59 had been at one time night messengers and that their offences ranged from disorderly conduct to larceny and burglary; that in a similar institution in Ohio of 1,125 boys, 138 had been night messengers and many had records of social offences dark enough for paganism. But comprehensive statistics were not to be had except by years of research.

However, the evidence collected justified the Committee in co-operating with its affiliated organizations to secure legislation that would exclude the minor from this branch of gainful occupation. Nor would we be willing to concede that such policy on our part is unscientific merely because it has acted without a complete body of statistical evidence. We believed the information sufficient to warrant action and counting on the moral interest of the public to promote an effort for the exclusion of boys from such environment, we made the question one for practical and immediate decision. The results apparently justified the policy chosen. A bill was presented before the Legislature of New York State designed to forbid employment of any person under twenty-one years of age in this occupation between the hours of ten o'clock at night and five o'clock in the morning, and without a word of opposition from parties whose financial interest would manifestly be affected by such legislation, and by unanimous vote in both houses this bill has become law.

With this explanation, we may say that in seeking to regulate and restrict employment of children in America the National Child Labor Committee has set certain definite standards which may be briefly summarized as follows:

First, the recognition of the right to a free childhood to the extent that all children under fourteen years of age shall be eliminated from problems of competitive industry.

Second, the recognition that the state is the natural guardian and protector of all minor children and that the labor of all minors should be regulated in harmony with such standards of safety and expediency as are practicable and obtainable.

Thus, minor children are divided into two classes: first, those under fourteen years of age, to be entirely excluded from wage-earning industry and set free to engage in those pleasures and occupations which contribute to the development of life. So far as occupations for children can be developed on a plan which makes the welfare of the child the

objective, we favor child employment. But ordinary forms of factory or commercial child labor sap vitality and are not an aid but an impediment to future industrial efficiency. Even the half-time system introduced in England with such promise is rapidly being abandoned. It has failed for want of a consistent motive. To make the child the objective one-half of the day and the balance sheet the other half is an impossible policy. A part-time system will yet be adopted in America which will make the interest of the child the paramount purpose of both halves of the day. Second, those between fourteen and twenty-one years of age whose occupation shall be regulated in the interest of society.

As to a general minimum age limit for employment, we recognize that the fourteenth birthday is an arbitrary line to draw, and are noting with deep interest the researches of eminent pediatricians for the classification of children by physiological age tests, not merely of abnormal and exceptional children, but of all children within given groups. For such a research would place at the disposal of this committee and all other child agencies that which is most essential—the standards of normal childhood in its mental, moral and physical development. But since no agreement has yet been reached by these students as to just what constitutes an adequate test, we regard it safe to proceed upon the well-established basis of common knowledge that the overwhelming majority of children do not develop before the fourteenth birthday and that those who are more tardy may be safely cared for by the additional physical tests required.

In seeking to establish standards of regulation, we aim in general to secure the following safeguards:

(1) That no child between fourteen and sixteen years of age shall be employed at night or for a longer period than eight hours during the day;

(2) That no such child shall be employed in an occupation known to be dangerous to life, health or morals;

(3) That no such child shall be employed unless satisfactory evidence is given that he has reached the normal physical development of child of his age;

(4) That before the employment of such child, he shall have been given an opportunity to lay at least the foundations of an American education and shall have met certain standards of educational efficiency;

(5) That children above fourteen and under twenty-one years of age shall be guaranteed by suitable laws against specific occupations and employments under circumstances that would menace the welfare of society, the restrictions to be graded according to the degree of hazard involved.

We aim also to secure the enactment of suitable compulsory school laws in harmony with labor laws to guarantee against any falling between of children neither accounted for by the school records nor found in gainful occupations.

In a few cities a beginning has been made of a physical census of children requiring a board of health examination of those who seek employment certificates. In New York City a considerable percentage of children so examined manifest physical defects. This suggests a further study which we have urged, and which could be carried on at slight expense. We urge that the genesis of these defects be discovered. This could be done by the simple process of having each school child examined on entering school, whether in kindergarten or early grades. This record can be card indexed and passed on from grade to grade following the child information being added from time to time which will show not only the development of height and weight, but also the date and nature of any illness or the development of any physical abnormality. At the end of the school period we should not then leave it to some official to discover that a fourteen-year-old child has some glaring physical defect which may handicap for a life, but six or eight years of the child's physical history will be in hand. This appears to us the most practical method of making a beginning to establish the norm of physical development under our American conditions, in addition to the immediate service it would render in the case of exceptional children. The work could practically all be done by the school teacher supplemented by the special services of the school physician or local board of health. We have in process of formation an advisory board of prominent physicians under whose auspices we hope in the near future to develop the plan here suggested.

We seek further to co-operate with educators and public-spirited citizens in the development of practical industrial training as an essential feature of our system of public education, so that the schooling of the child shall become a part of his life and there will be such a classification of occupations that the aimless drift of children and youth from one occupation to another shall be ended and children shall ultimately find in a corps of well-equipped vocational counsellors the advice they need to get them into industries adapted to their present interest and future development. For we believe it as clearly our duty in "promoting the welfare of society with respect to the employment of children" to see that the proper child is properly stationed in a road that leads to industrial self-support, as to protect against improper, injurious or unpromising employment.

II. As to the achievements of the National Child Labor Committee, it is impossible to dissect the work that has been accomplished in this field during the past six years in order to assign to each contributing agency its meed of credit. We recognize the allied activities of such organizations as the National Consumers' League, the Trade Union, Playground Association of America, Association for Labor Legislation, Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, National Housing Commission, Prison Association, Juvenile Court League and kindred organizations; and we acknowledge our standing debt to the untiring zeal of students and scientific experts for the knowledge of child nature and of the effects of social environment essential to the wise direction of our active policies. The National Child Labor Committee seeks to act as the agent and representative of enlightened public interest whether expressed through university, church, woman's club, trade union or other agency, performing the detail technical work required to bring the ideals of these interested parties to practical realization.

In general the achievements of the Committee may be classified under four heads:

(1) Organization: Forty-one state and local committees of a representative character have been formed to seek the protection of children within their several localities. These organizations are affiliated with the National Child Labor Committee in a somewhat loose federation, the policy of the Committee being to throw upon each locality the chief responsibility for local improvement and the democratic responsibility of local initiative.

(2) Investigation: Field agents are employed by the Committee and have acted as eye witnesses to observe the conditions of children employed in coal mines, glass factories, cotton and other textile mills, the tobacco industry, the harvesting and canning of vegetables, fruits and sea-foods, street trades, tenement house manufacture, etc. These reports of field agents have been carefully preserved in the office of the Committee and distributed to its executive members, and parts suitable for the general public have been printed for distribution.

(3) Publicity: The Committee publishes an annual volume of its proceedings and other pamphlets and reports as occasion requires. The annual output of literature approximates three and one-half million pages. The Committee has also gathered by research and original investigation a large collection of charts, photographs, and lantern slides demonstrating conditions of working children and the relation of this to educational, hygienic and other problems.

This material is suitable for public lectures, exhibits or display in sociological museums.

(4) Legislation: At this point it is particularly difficult to analyze the percentage of credit due to this organization and therefore no claims are made. We express the belief, based on a growing public support, that the Committee has proven itself of practical use in securing remedial legislation and the enforcement of laws enacted. A brief summary of legislation during the five years of legislative sessions shows the following important changes. In five years thirteen states and the District of Columbia have established inspection departments for the enforcement of child labor laws. In five years ten states and the District of Columbia have established an eight-hour day for the employment of children under sixteen either in all or in some of the important branches of industry. Aside from this, hours of labor for children under sixteen have been measurably reduced in thirteen other states. Within five years six states and the District of Columbia have passed child labor laws for the first time.

A comparison of child labor laws in 1904 and 1910 will show the following interesting developments:

In 1904 the fourteen-year age limit applied to factories and stores in twelve states; in 1910, in nineteen states. Furthermore, in these nineteen states the law now generally includes offices, laundries, hotels, theatres and bowling alleys.

In 1904 the fourteen-year age limit in factories only applied in nine states; in 1910, in eleven states.

In 1904 no state had established a sixteen-year age limit in coal mines, and but one state had a standard as high as fifteen. In 1910 the age limit in mines is sixteen years in six states, fourteen years in eighteen states and twelve years in eight states.

In 1904 all employments were forbidden during school hours in fourteen states; in 1910, in twenty-three states.

Without going into further detail, it may be said that the thirteen-year age limit and the twelve-year age limit applied in a large number of states in 1904 which have now advanced to higher standards, while the exemption from protection which formerly applied in a large number of states in the case of children of widows or indigent parents has now been removed and the child handicapped at home is in nearly all states now granted the same protection society regards important for the normal child.

In 1904 six states and the District of Columbia had no restrictions whatever; in 1910, one state.

In 1904 night work was prohibited in thirteen states, the age limit varying from twelve to eighteen years. In 23 states there was absolutely no prohibition of night work.

In 1910 night work is prohibited in 24 states under sixteen, in seven states under fourteen, in two states under twelve, and in certain industries is prohibited under eighteen, in one state, and under twenty-one in another.

In five years seven states have passed their first compulsory education laws and the age limit for compulsory attendance has been increased in six other states.

In addition to the specific accomplishments enumerated, we may briefly refer to a public service, the fruit of which has not yet been realized. In the active campaign for the establishment of a Federal Children's Bureau the National Child Labor Committee has taken the leadership and involved itself in whatever expense has thus far been incurred. Naturally such a service will reach far beyond the specific classes of children which constitute our clientele. But we recognize the service to every agency interested in the welfare of children which would be rendered by a bureau of the Federal Government equipped to gather systematically and make public the results of scientific studies in child psychology and whatever relates to the health, education and training of children. This Committee needs to know, for example, just how many children are engaged in the various child employing industries, but obviously we are not equipped to gather that information. We need also to know the nature and extent of diseases due to child labor and the physical and moral hazard involved in their work. A five or ten-year period of study of special groups of working children in comparison with other groups entering industries later would render information of the highest value as to physical effects, educational development, wages, industrial efficiency, and our people ought to have such information to corroborate or to correct reports gathered in European countries. But we cannot get this information, nor can we, in face of obvious injuries to children, suspend our operations for five or ten years until such data is gathered. Our opponents for the present will continue to regard us as radical and unfair in seeking to end the wage employment of ten or twelve-year-old girls in a twelve, ten or even eight-hour factory day, or the employment of boys of tender years in the coal mine. This is not so serious, but as we more nearly approach reasonable standards of child protection, the debatable ground will widen and the demand for accurate scientific information will grow ever keener. For a Committee which regards its mission as a militant one, therefore, as well as for those agencies engaged purely in sociological research, we contend that the chief desideratum is abundant, accurate and authentic information,—information beyond the ability of any private agency to collect or dispense.

THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU

By A. J. McKEELWAY

When Felix Adler, who, among other activities, is Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, returned from his year in Germany as Roosevelt Professor in the University of Berlin, he was greatly impressed with the contrast between democratic and imperial institutions. Here was a body of private citizens, enlisted in the cause of child labor reform, deliberating on the question what legislation was needed by the Federal Government and at the same time laying plans for child labor legislation in forty-six states. In Germany, in such a movement, all would have waited the nod from the throne. So it happens that the most complete knowledge of the colleges of America is secured, not by the Federal Bureau of Education, but by the General Education Board. A recent illuminating criticism of the medical schools of the country is published by the Secretary of the Carnegie Foundation. The National Child Labor Committee has furnished in the six years of its existence, not only the largest but almost the only body of literature on the subject of child labor throughout the nation. And Clark University does not wait for the establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau but organizes its Children's Institute. This is at the same time the glory and the weakness of democracy. As William Allen White recently remarked, the real trouble with the American government is that the most of our people did not go beyond the fifth grade in school. Our federal and state activities are still too much handicapped by political expediency. Special interests are able to manifest their concern in the suppression of facts more effectively than the people at large have yet learned to demand the full revelation of the truth. Nevertheless, let us not despair of the democracy. One of the profoundest remarks ever made by Thomas Jefferson was this: "The remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy." The people are beginning to demand with more and more insistence that the agencies of the national government shall first of all furnish them the facts on which just legislation shall be based. The tariff commission is already a reality. Three years ago an appropriation of \$300,000 was given the Bureau of Labor for an investigation into the conditions of the working women and children, the reports of which are just being

published. And in the coming congressional campaign, the Republican candidates for Congress will have to explain why the popular demand for a Children's Bureau has not been heeded, and their Democratic rivals will be asked what they propose to do about it. I am glad to report progress concerning the Children's Bureau bill. A favorable report has been made by the committees in both House and Senate, and, what is more to the point, a unanimous report by both. I confidently expect that at the approaching short session of Congress the bill will be enacted into law and the Bureau will be created.

So I am not here to argue for the establishment of the Children's Bureau. The argument is all in. The bill would have passed the Senate in the closing hours of the late session except for the opposition of one Southern Senator who has not yet learned that the doctrine of States' Rights was never meant to perpetuate human wrongs. A majority of the members of the House favor it. Practically every organization in the country that is interested in the welfare of children has endorsed it. The argument for it was stated at the first meeting of this conference, last year, by our Dr. Lindsay, and the conference by resolution, endorsed it. Not a paper has been read or an address delivered at this conference that is not an argument for it.

Take Dr. Helen Putnam's admirable paper on Infant Mortality. Did you notice how she had to go to England and Wales for her general statistics? Is it not a national disgrace that nobody knows how many children in America die under one year of age? The number is variously estimated from the imperfect data of a limited registration area at 300,000 to 400,000 a year. We are told on high authority that one half these deaths are preventable. That is, we might save a million American born children in a decade, making allowances for those who die after the first year, and these deaths are due to ignorance. Have you seen a baby die? Have you seen the sorrow of the mother following hard after the joy that succeeded travail? Does it not make some difference whether it is 300,000 or 400,000 babies that die annually before they are a year old? Are 100,000 babies a negligible quantity? And is it not time that this great nation of ours were finding out not only how many die but why they die?

While it is not necessary now to argue the question whether there should be a Children's Bureau, perhaps I can remove some misapprehensions about it. We have on the one hand those who contend that the federal government can do nothing in this regard. On the other hand there is some confusion of thought as to what the Federal Government and

what the State Governments can do. I find this confusion in a recent reference to the Children's Bureau in the catalogue of the Children's Institute:

Our workers would all be in the heartiest sympathy with the establishment of a *Children's Bureau in Washington as a national institution, provided only that scientific paidology be adequately represented in it.* Such an institution chiefly in the interests of child labor, playgrounds or any or all other philanthropic efforts for the betterment of child life, divorced from science, would be unfair to workers in the field whose efficiency and whose professional status would suffer without, and be distinctly augmented by, such affiliation as is above described. The most intelligent friends of the Indian deplore the almost water-tight compartment which now exists between American anthropologists who have studied and known the Indian language, industries, organization and ethnology generally, and the Indian Bureau which only looks after his practical needs. It is unfortunate even for the latter that these two departments are lacking not only in co-operation but even in sympathy and respect fo reach other's work. Similar segregation between paidology and child welfare service would also be a great misfortune for the child.

The illustration overlooks altogether the fact that the National Government is by the Constitution the guardian of the Indians. It can issue to them rations and blankets. It is a misfortune that the Bureau of Ethnology has not been in co-operation to a greater extent with the Indian Bureau. But the point is that the Federal Government has no administrative functions with regard to the children of the nation, except in the District of Columbia and the territories. The Children's Bureau could be administered in the interest of philanthropic efforts for the betterment of child life only by way of gathering and publishing the facts about child life. So far from a mere representation of scientific paidology in the Children's Bureau, it can only be a scientific bureau. So on the conditions laid down in "The Children's Institute" I claim that all its workers must be in hearty sympathy with the establishment of a Children's Bureau as a national institution.

At the same time it is clear that in the bill as framed there is an emphasis upon the sociological side, for which I make no apology.

The Bureau shall investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, physical degeneracy, orphanage, juvenile delinquency, and juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents, and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several States and Territories, and such other information as may have a bearing upon the health, efficiency, character, and training of children. The chief of said bureau may, from time to time, publish the results of these investigations.

The principle is that of first aid to the injured. Here is a group of ten children. How many interesting subjects of

study they present from the point of view of experimental psychology! We may ask a thousands questions about them, questions of heredity and environment, questions relating to school and play and work, questions of vital import for which we should have the answer. But along comes a trolley-car and as the children scatter, one of them gets in the way and the wheels pass over one of its legs. Now, unless some one knows how to stop the bleeding of the arteries at once, the child will die.

That is about the proportion of the unfortunate children of the country, one in ten. And here are some of the things we want to know about these children, as suggested by Mrs Florence Kelly:

1. How many blind children are there in the United States? Where are they? What provision for their education is made? How many of them are receiving training for self-support? What are the causes of their blindness? What steps are taken to prevent blindness?

2. How many mentally subnormal children are there in the United States, including idiots, imbeciles, and children sufficiently self-directing to profit by special classes in school? Where are these children? What provision is made for their education? What does it cost? How many of them are receiving training for self-support?

3. How many fatherless children are there in the United States? Of these, how many fathers are dead? How many are illegitimate? How many are deserters? In cases in which the father is dead, what killed him? It should be known how much orphanage is due to tuberculosis, how much to industrial accidents, etc. Such knowledge is needful for the removal of preventable causes of orphanage.

4. We know something about juvenile illiteracy once in ten years. This subject should be followed up every year. It is not a matter of immigrant children, but of a permanent, sodden failure of the Republic to educate a half million children of native English-speaking citizens. Current details are now unattainable.

5. Experience in Chicago, under the only effective law on this subject in this country, indicates that grave crimes against children are far more common than is generally known. There is no official source of wider information upon which other States may base improved legislation or administration.

6. How many children are employed in manufacture? In commerce? In the telegraph and messenger service? How many children are working underground in mines? How many at the mine's mouth? Where are these children? What are the mine labor laws applicable to children? We need a complete annual directory of state officials whose duty it is to enforce child-labor laws. This for the purpose of stimulating to imitation those States which have no such officials, as well as for arousing public interest in the work of the existing officials..

7. We need current information as to juvenile courts, and they need to be standardized. For instance, no juvenile court keeps a record of the various occupations pursued by the child before its appearance in court beyond, in some cases, the actual occupation at the time of the offense committed. Certain occupations are known to be demoralizing to children, but the statistics which would prove this are not now kept. It is reasonable to hope that persistent recurrent inquiries from the federal children's bureau may induce local authorities to keep their records in such form as to make them valuable both to the children concerned and to children in parts of the country which have no similar institutions.

8. There is no accepted standard of truancy work. In some places truant officers report daily, in others weekly, in some monthly, in others, never. Some truant officers do no work whatever in return for their salaries. There should be some standard of efficiency for work of this sort, but first we need to know the facts.

9. Finally, and by far the most important, we do not know how many children are born each year or how many die or why they die. We need statistics of nativity and mortality. What Doctor Goler has done for Rochester should be made known to all the health authorities in the United States, and the success or failure of the others in reaching his standards should be published with ceaseless reiteration.

It would be unfair to our social workers generally to assert that they are ignorant of paidology, that they underestimate the importance of psychology. It would be unjust to the greatest authority in the world on scientific paidology to say that those who have devoted their lives to the welfare of children, outside the schools were not as familiar with the volumes on "Adolescence," for example, as are the educational experts. But the point is that there are many of the pressing problems of the unfortunate children that are so primary and elemental that their right solution is simply a matter of common sense. I could wish that all our social workers could have such training as they might secure at this University. But that is not necessary, for example, to know that a ten-year-old child should not be permitted to work a twelve hour day.

I am certain that the Federal Children's Bureau will be an accomplished fact some time. I trust that its creation will not be much longer postponed. The question arises, what would it do first, how would it be organized? Of course the answer is a mere matter of opinion, but with the appropriation of \$25,000 a year which is granted in the present bill, I should say that three things to be done would be, First, the study of the census statistics of 1910 so far as they relate to the problems of childhood and the co-ordination of the facts there shown; Second, the issuing of a series of bulletins concerning the problems of childhood from the information already in the hands of the Federal Government; and, Third, intensive studies along one or two lines as an earnest of what can be done with a fully equipped bureau. As an example of this last, suppose the census figures show a high rate of infant mortality for a certain city. Let trained experts, acting as special agents of the government, make a study of the health conditions of that city and report the facts. What community would not welcome such aid for the saving of human life?

As to the organization of the Bureau, the following outline is suggested. 1. A Division of Investigation. 2. A Division of Publicity. 3. A Division of Advice and Information. 4. A Division of Legislation, the tabulation and criticism of existing statutes. 5. A Division of Foreign Experiments.

The division of investigation would of course include, finally, every imaginable method of research, concerning all the problems of childhood, physical, psychological, sociological. The division of publicity would be one of enormous importance. Witness the success of a similar division in the Forestry Bureau, and how rapidly it has educated the whole people to some knowledge of the doctrine of conservation. The division of advice and information would be akin to similar divisions in the Department of Agriculture. We can get all the advice we care to carry home from the post-office about the cattle-tick or the boll-weevil or the San José scale, from the bureau of entomology. And while the people must still rely on the local physician for treatment, the general advance in the knowledge of the principles of sanitation and hygiene is our hope for the future. At present, while we can secure all possible information about the diseases of animals from the Bureau of Animal Industry, the only education that the government furnishes on a large scale to the people is the teachings of the patent-medicine advertisements which are carried by the government at pound rates. The division of legislation would be of the utmost value in showing to different states and communities the successes and failures of others. And the division of foreign experiments would give us a part of the wisdom of the nations of the old world. It would be impossible, with the publication of the results of such a study in foreign experiments, for a learned school official in Massachusetts to suggest the adoption of the English half-time system for children in America.

This is the century of the child. The study of the problems of childhood means the lifting of each generation to a higher plane than that on which the parents stood.

THE DUTY OF THE COMMUNITY TO CHILDREN

By HENRY S. CURTIS, Ph. D.

While there is no very general agreement as to what the duty of the community to the children is or the principles on which it is based, there is an unquestionable tendency throughout the world to regard this duty in a larger light as time goes by and to a gradual extension of the functions of all the different departments of the city government.

The duty of the state to the children was held in the beginning to be an incidental one arising out of its duty to itself. The illiterate voter being a danger in a democracy it was considered necessary to the well being of the state that its citizens should not be illiterate, and consequently that public schools should be established.

We are coming to look less upon the duty side of this relationship and more to the efficiency side, as time goes by, realizing that the state is best served and becomes great in proportion as the most capable and contented citizens are produced.

A number of considerations have recently led us to question the sufficiency of our old ideals of education or the possibility of their yielding adequate training for life. Education, as understood by the school, is only one and perhaps not the most important factor in the development of the child. We are not primarily concerned that a certain amount of arithmetic and geography shall be taught, but that the highest possible type of child, as well prepared as may be for an efficient life, shall be produced.

There is at present no one department that can survey the whole field and plan for the total result, or see each element in its true prospective and relationship. The department of education plans to give moral instruction, but finds its work undone by the physical and social conditions by which the child is surrounded and over which it has no control.

It hopes to produce a capable citizen through the organizing of one out of several factors entering into the result. It seems reasonably manifest that before we can have efficiency in this work, the plan must include some organization of the whole field which will put all the factors in their proper place.

The school still conceives its task in the old scholastic sense; it is still trying in the main to teach facts from books. But we are coming to see that this is not all of education. There is also the education of the home, the street, the playground,

and many other forces of the environment. The school cannot deal with the large problems of parental neglect and cruelty or with dependence and delinquency. It has no control, and as a rule, no information in regard to the large factors in the environment, such as the saloons, skating rinks, dancing halls, theatres, brothels, etc., that lead to the juvenile court.

Is education in the school sense the really vital problem? Is it the most supreme question about a man, whether or not he is able to read? There have been many wise men in the history of the world of whom this was not true. Why is the state especially interested in book learning? The states that have fallen in the past have fallen from moral rottenness and social unrest, not from lack of scholarly training. To increase the education of the great mass of laboring people means under present conditions only to create wants that cannot be satisfied and invite discontent. What a permanent republic requires is a contented and loyal people with some feeling for the common welfare. Our present system is far from satisfying this requirement.

The school taking a narrow view of the duty of the state to the child has over emphasized the function of teaching. What the state really needs to promote is child welfare or development not instruction. At present the school has control. There are no strong rivals, and it can do as it will. Its chief aim is education in the contents of books.

Hence it often disregards the child's health by keeping him too long in school, by furnishing him bad air, by working him too hard. It does not realize that it has sold him the learning at too high a cost. It is responsible for the scholastic product, it is judged by the ability of the children to answer questions and pass examinations; for its own protection it is obliged, as it sees it, to overwork the children. Yet what a pitiful product it is when all is said, as with multiplied physical defects and lowered vitality, untrained socially and underdeveloped physically, the child steps off from the graduation platform into the world for which he is so largely untrained. What considerable use has he in the store or the shop for the arithmetic or geography or any other of the half hundred things he has studied? He needs the ability to read intelligently and the first principles of many other things, but he does not need great heaps of information to mildew and decay in his mind. For the part of his public school education which he is to remember, surely half the time and effort would have been more than sufficient, and how many other things, as important or more so, he might have got in the other half of the time.

The trouble is that the department of education does not deal with the child as a whole, but with one side of him, which

it over emphasizes, because the other sides are not represented. The school has no considerable knowledge of and cannot efficiently promote right home conditions. It does not have charge of the children of working mothers. It does not instruct parents in the care and nurture of the children. It does not regulate the nature of the milk supply. It has no control over the dependent or delinquent child. It offers little training for the life of the community. It does not regulate the conditions in the city so that the child may lead a normal life, reasonably free from temptation and with enough positive interests to divert his attention from them. It is over-working the children in scholastic subjects, because it is measuring its success as an institution by this narrow standard and forgetting that there are other values to be attained.

From a broad point of view who can defend such a department of information as the ideal? Information may or may not be useful, but it certainly is not identical with child development or welfare. The school has assumed that it is the medium for the imparting of education, but the child never has gotten the majority of his education from the school. The education of the home is at least as important. The education of the body, of good fellowship and of right habits which comes from a well directed playground will be used thrice where the education of the school will be once used; and then there are the hundred influences of the street, the saloon, and other places which tend to educate downward. The school department as now organized is quite unable to deal with this general problem of child development.

There has been a constant tendency to the extension of the function of the boards of education, but most of these extensions have been forced upon them from the outside. If you take as an example a number of recent developments such as the play movement, the work for the tuberculous child, school feeding, medical inspection, examination for physical defects, and similar movements, we find there is a strong tendency for the department of education to become in fact a department of Child Welfare, concerning itself not merely with instruction but with all that has to do with the production of the highest possible type of child. But still the progress is slow and on the proposal of each of these new measures the reply of the school has generally been that this was not its job. In actual fact there are at least four other child interests which are co-ordinate or nearly co-ordinate with instruction in value to the child. These are health and infant mortality, recreation and play, physical environment, and dependence and delinquency. To claim for instruction the right to control the child field is to throw these other co-

ordinate interests into very subordinate places, a subordination which is not justified by relative values.

These phases of training which the school has not undertaken have been covered more or less by various social movements, but each of these is hampered by its fragmentary nature. The playgrounds feel that the school takes far too much of the child's time. In some cases under the school, in some cases under the parks, in some cases under the board of health or a separate commission, there is no body at present that is in a position to take charge and regulate or control or encourage play in door yards, school yards, in the parks, in the streets, in the institutions for children.

What the best interests of the child seem to require is not a department of schools but a department of children. But public departments do not spring up of themselves nor undemonstrated. Movements always have to be tried out by private initiative. Cities do not perform such experiments.

In the hope of making some small beginning upon this general problem, the Worcester Child Welfare Conference was organized during October of last year. The general control was placed in the hands of an executive committee, consisting of seven of the most prominent citizens of Worcester, whilst an advisory board was formed, on which each of the child helping associations of the city was represented. Six committees were organized: First, a committee on survey, which had general charge of making investigations into local conditions of the city; Second, a committee on health and infant mortality; Third, a committee on juvenile delinquency; Fourth a committee on playgrounds; Fifth a committee on public recreation.

The general plan for the work of each of these committees except the first was the same, that there should be first a study of the actual conditions in this field and of the adequacy of the present forces to deal with the situation. On the basis of this study, the actual conditions found to exist with the agencies working for improvement, should be presented on a public programme together with an account of the best that is being done in this line in other cities. It was expected that this programme would lead to definite recommendations by this committee to the executive committee as to the work imperatively needed in each field. That on the basis of these recommendations the executive committee would formulate a comprehensive plan for the improving of these conditions, arranged so that a definite amount might be accomplished each year, and that the knowledge of these conditions and of the needs of the city would be made known both through public meetings, through the press of the city, and perhaps special bulletins issued on the subject.

The work in Worcester has been hampered by the lack of funds and by the fact that there has been no one who has been able to give time to it. Nevertheless, under the circumstances very commendable progress has been made which seems to indicate the entire feasibility of the scheme under more ideal conditions.

The plan outlined is a large one, much larger than any single organization is now attempting. If this should ultimately work out into a public department it would mean either the extension of the idea of the department of education to become in fact a department of children, having control of all conditions affecting them, or it would mean the organization of a new department, of which the present department of education would be one among four or five correlative bureaus. It should naturally mean that in the city this department of children would be a real department and that its head would be a member of the mayor's cabinet, which would also be true of the state department and the national department, both would be cabinet positions.

It is not believed that this is greater prominence than the interests involved demand. Children are concerned with every interest of the city government, with the lighting and paving of the streets and with nearly all its laws and ordinances, and they should be directly represented in some way in the city government, and this such a department would secure.

A children's bureau for information and statistics would find a natural place in a department of this kind, and perhaps would find its easiest solution in the municipal bureau where the general problem might profitably be worked out and demonstrated before it was organized on a national scale.

The argument for the children's bureau is usually founded on the similarity to the work of the Department of Agriculture, but the government may experiment as much as it pleases with hybrid oranges, but may not experiment with the city's children. The problem must ultimately come back to the city for its solution, whatever the nation may attempt to do.

OUR DUTY TO THE TUBERCULOUS CHILD

By LIVINGSTON FARRAND, M. D.

One of the most striking developments of the widespread campaign against tuberculosis during recent years has been the realization of the importance of the child and his relation to tuberculosis in the struggle against that disease.

The general outlines of the campaign are familiar to all. Based upon the discovery of the facts of the infectiousness, preventability and curability of tuberculosis a campaign of education has been undertaken which has for its object the bringing of these facts and their underlying conditions to the attention of all classes of the population to the end not only of bringing about a sounder personal hygiene but of providing adequate facilities for the care of tuberculous patients under proper auspices. In developing this campaign experience has naturally been rapid and intense and much has been learned in the course of it. There is now general agreement on certain points of procedure and of these points none is more important than the recognition that the responsibility for meeting the situation is a public one and not the province of private philanthropy. In working out the various lines of action which our public authorities must follow in order to achieve the results everywhere admitted as possible, while chief emphasis has been laid upon hospital and sanatorium provision, we are now waking up to the fact that in the care of the child much remains to be done and that of fundamental importance.

While the first educational efforts were naturally directed toward the adult population it was inevitable that it should soon be realized that the coming generation was the one offering the greatest promise and therefore the one to which special attention should be given. But far more striking than the recognition of this seemingly obvious truth has been the discovery of a degree of prevalence of the disease in school children hitherto unsuspected.

As the facilities and equipment for diagnosis and investigation have increased, particularly through the establishment of special tuberculosis dispensaries and the medical inspection in schools, it has been found that a large number of children apparently sound are nevertheless already demonstrably infected with the disease. The hopeful side of the

shield is the fact that these cases are usually in an early stage and therefore offer the probability of rapid recovery if placed under proper hygienic conditions.

It was to be expected that in various cities careful examinations should be made of the children in families where some member or members have broken down with tuberculosis, and wherever such investigations have been made the results are startling.

A few years ago in Cleveland a careful examination of 500 children in families of tuberculous patients presenting themselves at the dispensary, discovered 20% with positive signs of tuberculous disease.

In Boston an inquiry started along somewhat similar lines and extending further resulted in a conservative estimate by Floyd and Bowditch of 5,000 tuberculous children in the public schools of that city.

Some two years ago in New York City an examination by Miller and Woodruff of a series of children of tuberculous parents showed 51% of those examined with positive signs of the disease. In Edinburgh, Philip announces that 30% of a large number of children examined by him showed tuberculous infection.

A year ago it was reported that of the children from tenement districts who visited Sea Breeze last summer and were subjected to medical examination while there, 25% were affected with tuberculosis and this I understand did not represent a selected group except in so far as it came from living conditions highly favorable to the development of the disease.

A recent report from Richmond, Va., states that of 492 white children in the second and third grades of one school in that city 102, or 21% of the entire number, have "defective lungs." Just what proportion of these may exhibit positive signs of tuberculosis, I cannot say, but doubtless it would be true of the great majority.

I mention these specific instances merely for the sake of emphasizing the fact that the extent of the disease in childhood is much greater than even the medical profession had any reason to suppose until more careful methods of diagnosis and examination were available.

It is naturally impossible to extend figures of this kind and apply them to the national problem with any degree of accuracy. It has been estimated in Washington, however, that of the more than eighteen million school children in the United States between six and seven thousand die annually from tuberculosis and the chances are that this is a decided under-statement of the situation. If our present mortality

rates persist there are certainly more than 100,000 children now in the schools who will die of this disease before they reach the age of 18.

In a recent publication in Indiana Dr. Knowlton presented certain figures drawn from orphan asylums of that State showing the degree of orphanage which could be directly assigned to tuberculosis in one or both parents. From a careful examination of three institutions he found that 42.3% of the orphans in the asylums in question were there on account of the death of one or both parents from this disease.

The seriousness of the conditions would seem to be plain enough. The problem before us is how to deal with the situation presented.

That greater attention should be given to the teaching of hygiene, and particularly to the tuberculosis aspect of it, seems obvious enough. It would seem to be necessary that this teaching should be made compulsory in our schools and that proper material should be prepared for the use of previously trained and instructed teachers. The movement in this direction is spreading rapidly and already in a number of our states definite provision has been made. An experiment of great interest and promise is being tried out, for example, in North Carolina where the State Board of Health and the State Board of Education are co-operating with enthusiasm to meet this very need. Circulars of information are prepared at regular intervals by the State Board of Health on various topics of health and preventive medicine and issued with the imprint of authority of that official department. They are then taken by the State Board of Education and with the added endorsement of that body are placed in hands of all the teachers in the public schools of the State with instructions as to their use and the presentation of the information contained to the children under their charge. The general results of such an effort cannot fail to be salutary.

Viewed from the tuberculosis point of view we are apt to think that that subject, overshadowing in importance most if not all other phases of public health and preventive medicine, should be made a special topic for instruction and treatment. There are appearing now in a number of our cities special text books or primers on tuberculosis which are being used systematically in the schools. Should the experiment prove successful there is little doubt that the example will be followed in all parts of the United States.

Another educational experiment of interest was inaugurated in Pittsburgh a few years ago and has since then been followed in New York, Hartford, and a few other cities. The local tuberculosis association in its effort to catch and hold

the attention of the pupils of the schools prepared small portable tuberculosis exhibits which could be shown in the school buildings and inspected at leisure, together with leaflets of information to be taken by the children to their homes. This outgrowth of the present prevalent exhibition method in social work has met with marked success and might well be adopted on a far wider scale.

While the growth of the movement for the education of the children is most encouraging when compared with the situation a few years ago, it is nevertheless probable that not more than six per cent. of all the school children in the United States are now taught specifically the facts of tuberculosis prevention. That this percentage will rapidly rise is unquestioned but there still remains much to be done.

Of equal importance is the problem of providing for those children of school age who may be found to be suffering with active tuberculosis, or who are for one reason or another predisposed to the disease.

That it is necessary to exclude open cases of tuberculosis from our schools is probably true, but it seems totally unreasonable to exclude such children without making some provision for their instruction, care and cure. It is the recognition of this necessity which has given rise to the present active campaign for open air schools which had its origin in Germany a few years ago, started in Providence in this country and is rapidly extending to other parts of the United States. The discussion of this topic and the statement of its history and growth is the task of another speaker and I shall therefore do no more than to emphasize its importance and bespeak your interest in furthering the movement in every possible way.

In conclusion let me repeat that while from the broad point of view our present task is to bring public authorities to a realization of their responsibility and to provide on an adequate scale facilities for the care of tuberculous patients to the end, not only of curing the sick but of removing centres of infection from the population, there still remains the immense problem of general education upon which all our prospects of success are based and in this problem it is the child which occupies the central point.

OPEN AIR ROOMS IN THE BOSTON SCHOOLS

By JOSEPH LEE

The introducing of fresh air into the Boston schools is happening, like many other new things, in the method of concentric circles in a pond. In this case the stone from which the circles grew was the starting in the year 1908-09, by the Boston Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis, of a school of about 20 pupils on the roof of a building in Franklin Park. The school was a success, returning to their schools and homes during the year, with the disease arrested, about 30 pupils.

Another radiating centre of influence was a class, consisting of 18 of the pupils in poorest physical condition, carried on in April, May and June, 1909, in the yard of the Prescott School, in Charlestown. Mr Murphy, principal of the school, arranged that a little lunch, mostly malted milk, should be sold to them; and they gained an average of four and a half pounds apiece.

That same winter (1908-09) a special committee, appointed by the school committee to study the question of tuberculosis in the schools, reported that there were three classes of children to be dealt with: one needing hospital treatment, one needing the sort of care given by the school at Franklin Park, and a third, consisting of anæmic and pre-tubercular children, who ought to receive special treatment, including as much fresh air as possible, within the schools.

It was only the third of the above mentioned classes for whom anything remained for the school committee to do. Having consulted a permanent advisory committee on school hygiene, consisting of doctors and others, which it had previously appointed, and having ascertained from these that the classes of children for whom open air treatment would be especially beneficial consisted of those who were anæmic, undersized, suffering from glandular enlargements, or returning to school after a long illness, the school committee asked the school teachers and nurses to report the presence of such children. The report was made and the school doctors looked the children over, with the result that 4,489 such children were found and certified to, that is to say, about five and one-half per cent. of all the children in the elementary schools. The homes of all these children were visited by the school nurses, and the parents advised as to their better care.

In the way of providing open air rooms for these five thousand children, only a beginning has been made. There will always be a difficulty in providing open air rooms for all of them until we come to see that not only sick children but well ones need air to breathe. The anæmic and pre-tubercular children are often found only two or three in a given grade in a given school, making their separation into special rooms an expensive and troublesome proceeding. We have at present, besides the class in the Prescott School yard, four open air rooms in three school buildings, rooms, that is to say, in which the windows are kept open practically all the time. There is also another room in which they are opened at regular intervals.

I will describe the two rooms in the Winchell School in the West End, in which the experiment is being most fully carried out. One of these rooms faces south and east, the other south and west. There are about 44 children of the classes mentioned in each room. The east windows are sometimes shut when the east wind makes too chilly a draft. The experiment only got started about the first of March, and therefore has not yet had a try-out on the question of extreme cold.

The Elizabeth Peabody House has made khaki bags, deep enough for the children to get entirely into and to pull them together by a running string around their necks. There are holes in the sides to put their arms through. The bags cost \$1.62 apiece. The children can get out of them in about 45 seconds,—an important consideration in case of fire. The getting out process makes a dust, but it subsided very quickly the time I watched it. Khaki bags must be better than woolen in this respect, and I think that they will prove warm enough even for cold weather.

Another important feature in these rooms is the morning lunch. This is sold by the Elizabeth Peabody House for two cents, which entirely pays for the food. School lunches are also provided in many of the other schools. About two thousand of them are prepared by the cooking classes and sold to the children at cost, namely, one cent apiece; and about 250 other lunches are provided by various other means at two cents each. The two important things about these school lunches in Boston are, first, that the pupils pay the full cost of the food provided; and secondly, that they are served at a time when there are no home meals. They are thus radically different from school lunches provided with the intention or effect of taking the place of a family meal, as in Paris and London and elsewhere.

It might be thought that school lunches whenever and however provided are in danger of encouraging the parents to lie

down on the school authorities in this respect, and that they might even result in the child receiving less food than he did before. Visiting the homes of children to whom lunches are served becomes an important adjunct to school lunches, as well as to open air rooms, because of this danger as well as for other reasons. A visitor from Elizabeth Peabody House going into the homes of all the children in the open air rooms in the Winchell School found, however, little or no tendency on the part of the parents (mostly Jewish) toward such neglect. In very few cases was such underfeeding as she found the result either of poverty or of carelessness. The chief cause was ignorance on the part of the parents. Sometimes the trouble was that they did not open their windows at night and that as a result the children had no appetite for breakfast. Sometimes the difficulty was in the sort of food provided. Candy, pickles, coffee, beer, and especially tea, were common articles of diet in cases where under-feeding was found.

The experiment has cost the schools practically nothing, as no extra teachers have been found to be necessary and the bags and lunches have been supplied by outsiders.

The next widening circle beyond that of the anæmic children is that which takes in all the children without regard to physical condition. Why should not well children have air to breathe? The time-honored American practice of requiring that a child shall have committed a crime or, according to our more recent dispensation, contracted tuberculosis before he shall be given a fair chance to grow up straight and strong is in danger of being broken down at last. We now open the window before the child is dead.

The school committee has asked the schoolhouse commission (which in Boston has charge of the building of school-houses) to arrange for at least one open air room in each new school building. A window opening in three sections, one hinging at the top and pushing outward, the other two opening like doors, is perhaps the most likely provision, and I believe it will go much further than one room in each school.

The committee has also made some regulations about all schoolrooms. It has required that there shall be periods of exercise in the middle of the morning and the middle of the afternoon, during a part of which all the windows shall be open. By opening them all at once the obstructive power of the plenum system of ventilation is circumvented. Secondly, all the windows must be opened after each session of the school and after evening school. Hitherto the atmosphere of learning accumulated by the evening school has been bottled and held over to give the day school a good start next morning.

Then the committee has ordered that the temperature shall be kept as near 67 as possible, and that whenever so doing will not drive it below that point *all* the windows shall be kept wide open.

Another matter on which merely suggestions have been made is that of moistening the air. Mr. Watt, in his Chicago school, has shown how the thing can be done, and has reminded us that air in the ordinary steam-heated buildings becomes in winter somewhat dryer than that of the Desert of Sahara. The moisture which he has restored to the air in his school has among other things induced the teachers of their own accord to lower the temperature from an average of somewhere around 74 to ten degrees below that point. Nothing has yet been done on this matter in the way of legislation, but the suggestion has been made to the masters that for this as well as for other reasons it is a good plan to keep flowers in the rooms. It is difficult to keep a teacher filling a pan of water on a radiator, but you can always get her to water plants. I have tried the same thing on my secretary and I find it works. One difficulty is that the plants freeze up in the Christmas vacation. I don't yet know what the answer to that is.

One other small experiment has just been started. Some of us are confirmed believers in a proposition put forward by a former temporary hygiene committee that little children coming to school at five or six years old ought not to be in a schoolroom five hours a day. I am not a believer in the theory that no child should go to school until he is ten years old. I believe there are other things besides health; and furthermore I am convinced, doctors or no doctors, that mental exercise is as important to children's health as physical exercise. But five hours a day, spent mostly not in exercise of any sort but in sitting at a desk and learning how not to work, is neither good for body, mind, nor soul. If you cut out school altogether, these youngest children would be better than with such excess of it. The experiment of shortening the hours in the first grade was started this last June (1910) in one of our primary schools. There are four first-grade rooms in this school. The children have all attended during the first hour. During each of the remaining four hours one of the room teachers has been stationed in the yard outside with the children of her own room and with a third of the children from each of the other three rooms. A sand box, a thousand building blocks, and a good supply of kindergarten tablets and other play materials has been provided; and the idea is that the children shall occupy themselves very much as though they were at home under favorable conditions. A start—too early yet to talk of the results.

One other experiment, not directly connected with open air rooms but of crucial importance to the health of the children, has just been started. We now have a measuring rod and scales in every grammar school, and we are beginning to get the children weighed and measured. The bane of all school systems is the tyranny of the measurable. We teach children to spell and read and write and do arithmetic not purely because these are the most important subjects, but because we can find out whether they have been learned. We teach them partly because we can measure the result. Whether the real child is growing, whether he increases in courage, in resource, in determination and in truthfulness, is less easy to find out; and therefore these branches are apt to be neglected. But we can at least find out how tall he is and how much he weighs. And by ascertaining these simple facts we can utilize the tyranny of the measurable to drive us and our schools in a good direction,—that of attending to the child's physical health and growth. This new departure is certain to influence our practice in the matter of open air and of everything else affecting the children's health.

What we have done practically amounts to this. We have made a beginning of opening the windows in some of the ordinary schoolrooms, and we have taken a very few of the children in the first grade out of the schoolrooms during part of the school session.

EUGENICS AND VENERAL DISEASES

By PRINCE A. MORROW, M. D.

There can be no stronger antithesis of opposing factors in relation to the welfare of the child than that indicated by the title of my paper. The function of eugenics is to produce a race healthy, well-formed, and vigorous by keeping the springs of heredity pure and undefiled, and improving the inborn qualities of the offspring. The effect of venereal diseases is to produce a race of inferior beings, by poisoning the sources of life, and sapping the vitality and health of the offspring.

Eugenics, the youngest and most beautiful branch of biological science, is based upon a recognition of the racial importance of the child. The science of eugenics, or puericulture, as it is preferentially termed by Continental writers, has been defined "as the science which has for its end the search for knowledge relating to the reproduction, the preservation, and the amelioration of the human race." Puericulture has thus far been chiefly directed to the culture of the child after birth. A larger and truer meaning has been given to this science by extending the application of its principles to child culture before birth. The aim of child culture before birth is the production of healthy children; that of child culture after birth, is the healthy rearing of children, both the fit and the unfit. The one deals with hereditary and antenatal influences; the other with environmental conditions.

If, as stated by a distinguished writer, a man's destiny stands not in the future but in the past and is determined before he is born, a good heredity expressed in bodily soundness and health must be regarded as the most essential condition of the welfare of the individual.

It is my purpose to offer in this paper a few thoughts upon the prenatal influences which affect the bodily soundness and health of the child and largely determine its future destiny. For purposes of illustration, the biological development of the child may be likened to that of a plant,—generated from seed furnished by the parents, and which, after a certain period of growth and development, is transplanted by the process of parturition from its maternal bed to an external environment, from which it draws sustenance and is at the same

time exposed to influences which may favor or prove inimical to its continued life and growth. The essential conditions for producing a healthy plant are sound seed and a favorable soil. Experience shows that millions of these human plants wither and perish soon after their transference to a new soil; they are incapable of survival under the conditions of their new environment; many of them perish from prematurity, congenital defects, atrophy, etc.; many die from innate weakness or native debility. While many children die from the environmental conditions of lack of care or improper and insufficient nourishment, others succumb to slight causes of disease or die without apparent cause.

Probably the most essential cause of precocious mortality is a lack of what may be termed the "biological capital" furnished by the parents. This hereditary endowment may be sufficient to carry the child through its intra-uterine existence, but proves unequal to the drafts made upon it when separated from the maternal stem and compelled to maintain an independent existence. Many children die from an inaptitude or incapacity for life.

The tendency has always been to magnify the importance of environmental conditions and minimize the influence of heredity upon the health and life of the child. While environmental conditions constitute an important factor in infant mortality, the dominant influence must be assigned to the hereditary make-up of the individual. Observation shows that a hardy constitution transmitted by the parents constitutes a stronger defensive armor against the attacks of disease than a weak constitution, no matter how reinforced and strengthened by favorable hygienic surroundings. Again, a strong constitution transmitted by normal heredity, while not conferring absolute immunity against disease germs, often enables the system to dominate their action and throw off the disease. On the other hand, the significance of pathologic heredity is not measured alone by its effect upon infant mortality; it renders the survivors more susceptible to causes of disease in later years, and lessens their ability to recover from its effects. The value of a good heredity is especially manifest in what is termed the life expectancy of the individual. "It is generally understood," says Ribot, "that longevity depends far less upon race, climate, profession, mode of life, or food, than upon hereditary transmission."

Heredity has thus far been spoken of in the common acceptance of the term, rather than in its strict scientific sense. While all that the child represents at birth in structure, capacity for life and power of resistance against disease, comes through the parents, all that is present at birth is not neces-

sarily inherited. Some of these qualities may be imparted by the germ cells, others may be impressed upon the organism during its intra-uterine existence. Only those qualities contained in the germ plasma of the parents and which may be perpetuated through successive generations are strictly hereditary.

There are two factors in the making of the child to be considered: (1) the inherent elements of the germ cells, which form by their fusion a new being; (2) the environmental influences to which this new being is exposed during the period before birth. Since the child is nourished by the blood of the mother, it is evident that noxious influences affecting its nutrition and growth must act through this medium. Likewise all hygienic influences which may favorably affect the future of the child must come through the mother. We know that certain poisons, or toxins of infectious disease circulating in the mother's blood may vitiate the processes of nutrition and be reflected in the children in the shape of arrests of development, malformations, instability of the nervous system, or other stigmata of degeneration. An alcoholic heritage may come from the intoxication of the germ cells of the parents, one or both, at the moment of procreation, or it may come from the poison circulating in the blood of the alcoholic mother during pregnancy. It is to be noted that while this poison may not prove especially harmful to the mother, its effects upon the delicate and immature structures of the child are most pernicious.

In the making of the child, the mother not only contributes one-half of the ancestral qualities which enter into its constitution, but furnishes all the nutrition and energy which serve to support its life. From this point of view, the mother is the supreme parent of the child; she is the source of its life, and from her blood is drawn the material which contributes to its growth and development. If her nutritive energies are weakened, the nutrition of the child correspondingly suffers; the welfare of the mother underlies the welfare of the child. We have thus come to recognize the dominant influence of the mother in relation to the health as well as the life of the race.

A high standard of physical motherhood is the most valuable asset of a nation. Havelock Ellis, in his recent work on the Psychology of Sex, says: "Nations have begun to recognize the desirability of education, but they have scarcely yet come to recognize that the nationalization of health is even more important than the nationalization of education. If it were necessary to choose between the task of getting children educated and the task of getting them well born and healthy,

it would be better to abandon education. There have been many great peoples who never dreamed of national systems of education, there has been no great people without the art of producing healthy and vigorous children." Neumann, the distinguished author of the work on Infant Mortality, declares that "The problem of infantile mortality is not one of sanitation alone, or housing, or, indeed, of poverty as such, but is mainly a question of motherhood."

We may now inquire what measure of practical utility is promised by the application of the principles of eugenics to the improvement of the race. So far as the control of the hereditary factors is concerned, all depends upon the choice of the parents. In choosing each other, they choose the ancestry of their children. From the standpoint of scientific selection, the value of eugenics in the conservation and improvement of the race rests upon promise rather than upon actual fulfillment.

In our present day civilization, the influential motive to marriage is not the improvement of the race. Sentiment, rather than science, dominates men and women in their choice of partners, while little thought is given to their possible disqualifications as potential fathers and mothers. It is not probable that the scientific methods which have been successfully applied to plants and the selective breeding of animals will ever replace the haphazard methods of human reproduction. I believe, however, that when the principles of eugenics are better understood, public sentiment will demand that the principle of selection be applied to the exclusion from marriage and parentage of certain types, the reproduction of which leads to the degeneration of the race. There is no fact better established than that a man can transmit only that which he is. If his system is weakened by excesses, or tainted with disease, he can transmit only physical weaklings or beings tainted with disease. The syphilitic, the consumptive, the epileptic, the alcoholic,—each produces his kind. I believe, moreover, that when the conceptional conditions which determine in a great measure the health and life destiny of the offspring are appreciated, and men and women realize that much of the disease and degeneracy, and waste of child-life are due to transmitted tendencies, they will no longer regard the transmission of life, the procreation of a new being, as a mere incident of lustful pleasure, often a regrettable accident, but as the most responsible act of their existence; since the new being carries with it the tendencies to disease, as well as the potentialities of health possessed by the parents.

In regard to the environmental conditions to which the new being is exposed in the period before birth and which

exert an important influence on its development, it may be said that these conditions are in a great measure subject to intelligent control. Women of the better classes should know that during this period their best vitality and energy, which are now so often exhausted by strenuous social duties and amusements of fashionable life, should be conserved and directed to the upbuilding of the child.

Already scientific and practical measures have been instituted for the purpose of improving the hygienic conditions of working women during pregnancy. Within recent times a movement has been started in many countries of Europe which has for its object the insuring not only of care and protection to the mother during the period of pregnancy but absolute rest during the later months. It aims to surround the mother with quiet and health during the period of gestation.

Rest is enforced by law, prohibiting the employment of women from four to six weeks before and after confinement. Free medical attention is provided; visiting assistants in touch with the municipal authorities instruct and advise the women in personal hygiene and the care of the child; the question of pensioning mothers by the State is being considered; in addition, provision is made for mothers' schools as well as schools for young women of from fourteen to eighteen years, in which appropriate instruction is given. This movement has already yielded valuable results and promises to become international in character.

In connection with the above movement, it may be said it is recommended that young women should be trained not only in rational housekeeping but in the principles of hygiene, the care of the sick, especially of infants, and in all that concerns the physical and psychic development of children.

I may venture to add that this instruction which is designed to prepare them for the duties of maternity, will be incomplete without some instruction as to the responsibilities of marriage and parentage. Ignorance is not the best aid to a young woman in the choice of her husband and the potential father of her children. Every woman should know something of matters which so nearly touch her domestic happiness and the future of her children.

Young women should know that marriage is not all romance and sentiment, that dissipated men make unsafe husbands and unsound fathers, and that the halo of romantic interest thrown around the man with a profligate past by fiction writers is a symbol of shame, a signal of danger for his future wife and children.

However important the relation of physical motherhood to racial advancement, whatever may be the value of child

culture in the improvement of the race, the fact remains, that a taint in physical fatherhood may ruin the health of the mother and blast the future of the child.

The facts of experience show that multitudes of strong, healthy women have their conceptional capacity destroyed, or their children come into the world with the mark of death upon them, or if they survive they are condemned to carry in their frail bodies the stigmata of degeneracy and disease. Those of the remnant that survive may, if they grow up and marry, transmit the same class of organic defects to the third generation.

It is a sad commentary upon human nature that man is the only animal that soils his system of generation with infections that maim or destroy his offspring. None of the brute creation brings forth its young exposed to such dangers.

This brings us to the consideration of a class of diseases whose specific action upon the system of generation is to sterilize the procreative capacity by poisoning the germ cells to so vitiate the processes of nutrition that the product of conception is killed outright or blighted in its normal development. In the popular conception these diseases are diseases of vice and confined to those who contract them in immoral relations, but while they have their chief source in the social evil, they extend beyond the purlieu of vice and invade the habitations of virtue. The sanctuary of marriage affords no effective safeguard against their entrance. They respect no social position and recoil before no virtue. They link the debased harlot and the virtuous wife in the kinship of a common disease.

At first glance it may appear somewhat incongruous to associate the diseases of vice with a social institution which typifies our highest conception of virtue. Thousands of pure young women find in this relation not a safeguard against these infections, but a snare for their entrapment. The explanation is not far to seek. The incidence of these diseases falls most heavily in the earlier years of life, at or before the marriageable age.

The majority of men contract these diseases and many of them, believing themselves cured, it may be, carry the infection into the family. By a strange irony of fate, the diseases of vice, transplanted to the bed of virtue, develop their worst effects. They are accentuated in virulence and danger, to the wife and mother, in fulfilling the functions for which marriage was instituted.

It is not my purpose to expose before you the pathological balance sheet of venereal diseases, the peril to the public health from the enormous morbidity and mortality they

occasion, or their terrible consequences to the health and life of innocent women who find that marriage has transformed them from healthy women into suffering invalids, many of them condemned to the operating table and the loss of their maternal organs to save their lives.

Of more especial interest in this connection is the racial danger of these diseases, manifest not only in the potential loss of citizens to the state, but in the production of degenerates and defectives,—the blind, the deaf mutes, the feeble-minded, the epileptic, and other physical and mental weaklings,—which fill our institutions for defectives and impose an enormous cost upon the community for their support.

Gonococcus infection is, perhaps, the most powerful factor in depopulation, through its sterilizing influence upon the procreative capacity. Statistics show that 50 per cent. of infected women are rendered permanently sterile. In other cases, the conceptional capacity is absolutely extinguished with the birth of the first child, so that one child represents the total productiveness of the family.

Sterility in the male is not an infrequent result of this infection. The proportion of non-premeditated childless marriages directly due to the husband's incapacity from this cause is variously estimated at from 17 to 25 per cent., and, as he is also responsible for the sterility of his wife, about 75 per cent. of all sterility in married life which is not of choice but of incapacity may be traced to the fault of the husband.

Contrary to the popular view, the large proportion of sterility is from incapacity and not of choice. While the gonococcus is not transmissible through heredity, it carries with it serious infective risks to the offspring. Fully 80 per cent., and some authorities declare practically all the blindness of the newborn, is caused by the gonococcus. Another serious infective risk is the vulvo-vaginitis of babies and little girls. This is not only exceedingly difficult of cure, but often leads to arrest of development of the maternal organs; still another serious infection is gonococcus inflammation of the joints which may deform or cripple the child.

Syphilis is the only disease transmitted to the offspring in full virulence, killing them outright or blighting their normal development. It often extinguishes in toto the posterity of certain families. The infected children who finally survive,—one in four or five are often the subjects of organic defects and degenerative changes which, if they grow up and marry, may be transmitted to the third generation.

By some unthinking people this wholesale destruction of infant lives is interpreted as nature's process for the elimina-

tion of the unfit, but nature is sadly maligned; there can be no worse sophistry than to attribute to nature what is clearly the result of man's criminal ignorance or carelessness; were it not for the syphilis of parents, these children might have been born in conditions of vitality, health, and physical vigor.

From this incomplete survey of their hereditary dangers, it is evident that these diseases are directly antagonistic to the eugenic idea, which is not the production of offspring merely but of children born in conditions of health and vigor with an hereditary make-up which fits them for the struggle of life.

The practical question now arises: What can be done toward the prevention or limitation of the vast volume of disease and degeneracy projected into each oncoming generation by pathologic heredity? At first glance, the most obvious measure would appear to be the suppression of the hereditary factors by the prohibition of parenthood to the racially unfit.

This negative eugenic measure has been attempted in the case of the criminal class by the surgical sterilization of confirmed criminals so that they cannot propagate their kind. This procedure is favored by certain sociologists and physicians, as well as by magistrates of criminal courts (it has, indeed, been practised in one state,—Indiana,—on a large scale. Its wisdom as well as its practical value in eradicating crime, is, however, open to question. Sterilization by the knife or the X-ray has been suggested in the case of idiots, epileptics, the insane, and syphilitics, etc., by certain extremists, but has met with little favor.

Many believe that the remedy for improving the race by the elimination of the unfit from marriage and parentage lies in legislation,—either a medical certificate of freedom from contagious or transmissible disease as a condition of license to marry, or the imposition of civil or penal responsibility for infection in marriage. There are practical objections to both these measures which cannot here be considered; one objection to the latter measure is that the essential condition of the law's intervention is that the injury shall already have been received; and, further, since the injured party must be the complainant, the heaviest penalty falls upon the innocent wife, as in addition to the scandal and publicity of court proceedings she would be publicly branded as the bearer of a shameful disease. Such laws have been engrafted on the statute books of some of our Western states, but few women have availed themselves of the doubtful redress they afford.

In the opinion of those who have most carefully studied conditions, the solution of this problem must be approached

through education. The wisest way of eliminating degeneracy is through a reconstructive rather than negative eugenic measures. Liberty enlightened by education is a stronger force in influencing human conduct than restrictions imposed by law. The principles of eugenics can best be embodied in practice by hygienically advising people as to the conditions which in sure sound offspring.

There is need to educate, not only the intelligence but the conscience and the will, to train the emotions and the impulses, to develop a moral conscience in the matter of parenthood by teaching that reproduction is the noblest and most sacred of all functions of the body.

It is needless to say that this instructions should be more particularly addressed to the rising generation, the future fathers and mothers of the race. The most serious obstacle in the way of instructing young people in the laws and hygiene of sex is the traditional sentiment which has invested everything relating to the sexual life with an atmosphere of shame and secrecy, and has decreed that this "holy silence" must not be broken. There can be no greater satire upon creative wisdom than to assume that the creative function which most nearly assimilates man with his Maker, and to which the life of the race is entrusted, is in any way shameful or unclean. Viewed rightly, the subject of sex, "the ever recurrent miracle of generation and birth is, to use the words of the Rev. Canon Lyttleton, full of nobleness, purity, and health.

In this connection I may be permitted to quote a sentence from a man whose profound knowledge, sound judgment, and matured experience give to his utterances the weight of the highest authority.

In a letter received from ex-President Eliot of Harvard, in which he strongly advocates the value of sex education in the prevention of certain of social ills, he says: "Society must be relieved by sound instruction of the horrible doctrine that the begetting and bearing of children are in the slightest degree sinful or foul processes. That doctrine lies at the root of the feeling of shame in connection with these processes and of the desire for secrecy. The plain fact is that there is nothing so sacred and propitious on earth as the bringing of another normal child into the world in marriage. There is nothing staining or defiling about it, and, therefore, there is no need for shame or secrecy but only for pride and joy. This doctrine should be part of the instruction given to all young people.

The sex problem lies at the root of eugenics. Sex is not only the cardinal fact in the individual life, but the most vital of all facts in the racial life. Upon how young people

mate depends the quality of the offspring, and upon the quality of the offspring hangs the future of the nation. It is a matter of congratulation to those interested in the eugenic idea that the sex problem has begun to emerge from the fog of asceticism and prudery which has so long enveloped it and to take its rightful place among the subjects deemed most worthy of scientific study.

CHILD WELFARE IN NEW YORK

By ROY SMITH WALLACE

At the National Conference of Charities and Correction, held last May in St. Louis, I was very much impressed by an analogy drawn by Prof. Emerson, of Johns Hopkins University, between medicine and the treatment of bodily disease and sociology, and the treatment of diseases of the social body. He pointed out in the first place that there had been no advance made, except an empiric progress, in the scientific study of medicinal practice since the time of Galen, B. C., until the middle of the 19th Century. In the middle of the 19th Century began the study of pathology, and since the beginning of the study of pathology, progress in medicine has been increasingly rapid and increasingly certain.

In the second place he asserted his belief in the validity of the analogy between medicine and sociology, and his belief that only through the scientific study of pathological social conditions would we be at all able to make any real scientific progress in the treatment of defective social conditions.

The study of social pathology is now in its infancy, but it has already led us to analyze social conditions far more accurately, and to trace farther and farther back our search for the real causes of social mal-adjustment, so that we are beginning to have a real basis for the scientific prevention of future disease and vice.

I should not venture to ask your interest in facts concerning the child life in New York City, did I not believe in the truth of Dr. Emerson's analogy, and did I not also believe that in New York City social conditions are pathological. In this city, the city forces which affect child life are most potent, are most exaggerated, are most extreme, and in this city, therefore, they are most discernible.

Moreover, the study of those forces affecting children in city life, most easily undertaken, because of their tangibility, in New York City, is of increasing importance, because more and more the humanity of our nation is settling in cities, and more and more, therefore, our children are the products of these city forces. More than one-third of our population is to-day living under the conditions of city life. Cities are here, and are here to stay. Into these cities children are in-

evitably to be born. The forces which affect child life in the cities are bewildering and complex and little understood, but are of great importance, and of wide-spread pertinence.

It is of course impossible to enumerate all the forces affecting children in New York City; there are a hundred thousand forces and they all affect children. However, if we try to consider some of the main facts which affect the health, the earning capacity, the recreational life, and the character of our children, we shall have compassed what are after all the chief values which we must seek to conserve and develop, and so I ask you first to consider some of the facts affecting the health of children in cities.

In New York City, life means tenement life, and tenement life means that the average family of three children have three or at most four rooms, each room 10 x 12 or at most 12 x 14 feet in size, with one or at most $1\frac{1}{2}$ windows per room; a hundred thousand rooms in New York have no windows. These few and small rooms must be occupied not only by people, but by stove, table, chairs, tubs, wardrobe, and beds, and frequently are occupied not only by the family, but by lodgers as well. This congested life means lack of space, lack of air, lack of sunlight. It registers itself in the depleted physical vitality of the children.

Investigations made in Berlin show that of the 2,711 deaths of children under one year of age, occurring during a given period, 1,792 or nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ occurred in families living in 1 room; 754 in families living in 2 rooms; 122 in families living in 3 rooms, and only 43 in families living in 4 rooms or over.

Investigations made in Edinburg show that of 1,400 children of a given age, those who live in 1 room had an average height of 47 inches; those who live in 2 rooms an average height of 48.23 inches; those who live in 3 rooms an average height of 48.61 inches, and those in 4 rooms 49.16 inches, with an average weight of 52, 56, 58, and 60 pounds respectively. It cannot of course be asserted that other factors do not enter into this result, but certainly the concomitant variation of these records can hardly be stripped of its significance.

Most of us are familiar with the statistics concerning the physical deficiencies in our public school children. Examinations have been repeatedly made and repeatedly published, pointing out that from 60 to 80% of our school children suffer from some form of remediable physical defects. These facts have been so widely published that I do not think it worth while to enter into them.

The most important of the health facts, however, in my judgment, are those concerning the frightful infant mortality rate.

The modern Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign has had such marked success because it has been able to point out and utilize as the slogan of its campaign the fact that tuberculosis is a terrible and a preventable disease. The death rate among our infants is even more terrible and even more preventable. It is more terrible:—Whereas, throughout the whole United States, something like 150,000 people die each year at all ages from tuberculosis, about 350,000 children under one year of age die each year. Whereas, in the State of New York about 14,000 people die each year at all ages from tuberculosis, in New York City alone 16,000 babies under one year of age died last year. 1-7 of all the babies born die before they are 1 year of age; 1-5 die before they are 5 years of age. In the summer months in New York City, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the death rate is that of children under 1 year of age. I ask you to hold in mind, moreover, that this frightful death rate, which means so much in human misery and in loss of human productiveness, has an even more serious aspect. Doctors figure that every death represents 28 illnesses, so that the infant mortality rate represents an infant morbidity rate 28 times as large. The forces of disease which carry off 16,000 babies in New York City every year, attack also hundreds of thousands of children. The children manage to survive, but they survive weakened, and less able to undertake the duties and responsibilities of life than they otherwise would be.

But not only is this death rate terrible; it is also largely and easily preventable, and preventable by means which have already stood the test of actual practice. Dr. Goler, in Rochester, reduced the infant mortality 50% in one summer, merely by insisting that the milk sold in the city should be pure. The system of educational nursing in connection with milk depots, and otherwise, has proved its worth. This consultation method originated in France, and I happen to remember the figures of the Toucy consultation. Before the introduction of the consultation there were 190 infant deaths for every 1,000 births; after the first year of the consultation there were 120 deaths per 1,000 births, and after the second year of the consultation there were 50 deaths per 1,000 births. This result was secured merely by a system of weekly conferences between the mothers of newly born children and doctors and nurses who advised with them individually about the progress of their babies. The New York Milk Committee in New York has had similar success with its conference in connection with milk depots, and during one year of over 600 babies so advised, only 3 died.

The New York Health Department figures that its maternity nursing, if sufficiently supported, could wipe out $\frac{1}{2}$ of the

infant deaths in New York, at a cost, based on previous results, of \$33.00 per baby. The New York Milk Committee figures on the basis of past results that it saves infant lives at a cost of \$45.00 per baby. Mulberry Street undertakers tell me that the average cost of burying a baby is \$50.00.

Let us consider next some facts about the recreational life of children in New York City. Let us recognize in the first place that recreation is impossible in the home. The homes are small, they are over-crowded with furniture, they are over-crowded with people, and there is positively no room for play in the city home. The next opportunity for play should be on the street. The streets are, however, in the first place, physically dangerous. Bacteriological examinations of street sweepings reveal millions of germs, many of which are pathogenic. Moreover, street accidents are common, frequently reaching in New York a total of 200 per month, so that the street is not physically safe.

Moreover, street life is not morally safe. It is, of course, more difficult to talk in statistical terms of moral facts, but the extreme products of street life, namely, the newsboys, reveal most emphatically the moral dangers of the street. Very nearly half, and sometimes more than half of the inmates of the House of Refuge, Catholic Protectory, and other institutions for delinquent children, are newsboys. An examination conducted by Mr. Ernest Poole in 1901 revealed the fact that of about 1,000 newsboys examined nearly 80% had contracted venereal disease before the age of fifteen years. The street is not a morally safe place for children.

Moreover, even if it were physically and morally safe for children to play in the streets it would not be possible for them to have adequate room there. The West side of New York between 40th and 50th streets, and between 10th and 11th avenues is not an extremely congested part of New York City, but an investigation there revealed the fact that each child in these blocks has for his share of the total available space only a little square 7 x 8 feet, and this space he must share with trolley-cars, trucks, automobiles, push carts, and adults. In the crowded, lower East side, each child had as his share a space less than 3 x 5 feet, and this too, must be shared with everything else which uses the streets.

On top of all this, the city has made it legally impossible to play on the street. It is against the law to play any kind of a game in the streets of New York. I have here the figures and the charges for the children brought before the Juvenile Court in Manhattan during July, 1909. Out of a total of 717 arrests, 128 were for "throwing a ball;" 177 were for "playing a game called cat;" 81 were for "jumping on and off

street cars;" and 29 were for "shouting and making a noise;" a total of 415 arrests for doing things which are not only not bad, but which are positively good for children to do. The city which by its very growth has utilized all the space there is except the streets, and which by its very conditions and its very laws has made it impossible for children to play in the streets, surely owes it to itself and to its children to provide space for play. All young things—colts, kittens, puppies—play. Children must play, and if they must play they must have space to play. The city by its very existence uses up all space to play except the streets, and prohibits play on the streets. It is, therefore, the responsibility and duty of the city to provide play space for children. The logic is relentless, but we are not yet doing what we inevitably should.

The first great recreational need, therefore, in New York City is the need of wide-spread extension of play facility; roofs and interiors of blocks should be used for play, and some start has already been made in both these directions. School buildings and school yards should be increasingly used for play. Streets should be reserved at certain hours of the day for the use of children for play, and above all the system of small parks and playgrounds should be made adequate for the use of children. This is practicable in the newly developing districts certainly, and by the excess condemnation method, should be practicable also for the already heavily congested districts.

The second recreational need in New York is for an elevation of the standard of indoor recreations, the chief forms of which are the theatre and the dance hall. Legislation enacted by the last legislature has required an advance in the standard of the dance hall, and we may hope for better things there.

The Board of Censorship of moving pictures has already raised the standard of the most popular of all the forms of theatrical amusements—the moving picture show. There is great need for some similar work in the field of vaudeville. More than 50% of the vaudeville programmes as produced in the New York theatres have been conservatively adjudged to contain numbers of decidedly deteriorating character, and the burlesque houses attended by thousands of children each week are at least 80% of positively deteriorating character.

Let us consider next the industrial life of children. I am not here to make the familiar argument for the abolition of child labor. I am more concerned to point out the necessity for a more positively developmental attitude towards the work of children.

Now that we have accepted in New York a minimum age, below which children shall not work, and now that laws

enforcing these standards are adequately endorsed, both by officials and by public opinion, we can pass on to other phases of the industrial life of children, and concern ourselves more with the industrial training which children should receive.

The factory trades are of increasingly less importance as a factor in the industrial life of children between 14 and 16 years of age. There were 9,000 children in 1901 in factories in New York; there are now only 2,000.

In an investigation conducted by Professor Richards, for the State Department of Labor, it is shown most conclusively that the good, progressive trades will no longer take as beginners children under the age of sixteen, and many prefer to wait until eighteen. The children do enter, therefore, the non-progressive or "dead end" trades, in the stores as cash girls, bundle boys, etc., in the offices as office boys, and in the various low grade trades as assistants and routine helpers. Now the one thing which unanimously characterizes all the jobs into which children between 14 and 16 actually do go, is their unprogressiveness. The beginner starts work receiving from \$3.00 to \$4.50 per week. After the routine skill is acquired, at the end of six months or a year, he can earn as much as \$6, \$7, \$8, or \$9 a week; and he can then work at the job for twenty years and never earn more than this maximum because the work itself cannot be made to be worth more than this maximum. This fact the children themselves are very early in discovering and the result is a constant shifting from job to job during this period between 14 and 16 years.

Of 1,000 boys carefully watched in New York City from the time when they received their working papers, more than $\frac{1}{3}$ changed their job six times in the course of a year. A similar state of affairs was revealed on a larger scale by the investigation of 25,000 children between 14 and 16 years of age not at school, by the first Massachusetts State Commission on Industrial Education.

To sum this all up, all the facts now at hand indicate that the progressive trades will not use children until they are sixteen years of age, and the non-progressive trades offer only a stop-gap opportunity which sends the children from one job to another, with intermittent periods of idleness. In other words, the period from 14 to 16 is industrially almost valueless, while on the other hand, this period, the adolescent period, is almost priceless. Most of the thinkers on this problem have reached the emphatic conclusion that the gap between the 14th year when 95% of the children leave school and the sixteenth year when they first become fitted for a real progressive trade, would far more wisely be filled up by

some system of industrial education in connection with our public schools, than by the present, haphazard, shifting trade opportunities; and so the great need in New York, as elsewhere, from the industrial point of view, is some adequate educational utilization of the adolescent period.

There is one further phase of the industrial side of child life in New York which I must mention, namely, home work. We have long condemned sweating trades. All of us are familiar with instances of overwork, and scandalous underpay in the home industries, and how extensively these are combined no one can to-day say with certainty. We have in New York been making some quantitative studies which are yet only partial, but the results of which are interesting and probably indicative.

Of the 1,800 children in one school in the upper East side, more than 700 children under 14 years of age, were willing, when questioned by their teachers, to admit that they did home work regularly after school—mostly feather making, one of the most notoriously under-paid and exacting of the home trades; and the addresses at which they carry on this work were in 60% of the cases addresses of tenements which had not been licensed by the State Department of Labor for home work. We are verifying these facts and are also making a comparison of the school progress of the home working and the non-home working children, but these results have not yet been arrived at.

The most difficult of all the subjects to approach, and yet the one in which we are all the most interested, is the subject of the character of our children. We know vaguely, but nevertheless, very certainly and emphatically that many of the forces of our city life do tend to break down and hamper the character development of our children, and our chief anxiety needs to be, therefore, as to the forces which build up character.

The question of character development becomes very easily involved with religious training, and rightly so. We may not all agree with the Catholic belief that there can be no moral training without religion for its basis, but we are most of us agreed that the religious training is an important part and factor of the moral development of children.

There are three institutions which we can rely on for the religious education of children—the home, the school, and the church. Of these the school is by law forbidden to undertake religious training. It is impossible to ascertain how largely the home undertakes this responsibility, but investigation and our common knowledge, coupled with such figures of Sunday School and church attendance as we have, go a

long way towards proving that the home does not begin to accept its responsibility, and so we have relied on the church and Sunday School for the religious training of our children. Religious statistics are notoriously unreliable, but in New York we are certainly safe in saying that far more than $\frac{1}{2}$ and probably $\frac{2}{3}$ of the children in New York City are not even enrolled in the Sunday Schools of the city. This means that at least 600,000 children are growing up in the city of New York without religious training; in other words, the children of an un-churched city larger than Boston and Philadelphia combined, are growing up in New York. The $\frac{1}{3}$ or more children who are enrolled in Sunday School, get in many cases, a very inadequate religious training. At the best, they get, perhaps, twenty minutes per week of religious instruction. In order to get the same amount of instruction in religion that a child gets in arithmetic in the public schools, he would have to go regularly to Sunday School every Sunday in the year for more than forty years. And not only quantitatively but qualitatively the instruction in our Sunday School is inadequate. In only a few of the Sunday Schools of the city are there trained teachers, using pedagogical methods and sound text-books. It seems to me that this is a problem which must be faced, and faced frankly.

Moral instruction of varying sorts is of course a tremendously important and tremendously large by-product of our schools and of our industry, as well as with much success carried out by our homes. Most of us believe that religious instruction is important in the development of the character of children, and we should at once recognize that our religious instruction is totally inadequate.

All these various forces affecting the various phases of a normally developed child life have been, from different points of view, contemplated by different people, and have been the source of suggestions as to methods of improvement. I want to call your attention to one significant convergence in these suggestions.

Those who are interested in the health of our children are emphatic and unanimous in their argument that only through education can proper health conditions prevail. Only as we instruct our people as to the danger of tuberculosis can we wipe out tuberculosis. Only as we teach our mothers through maternity nursing, by consultations, and by other methods, can we prevent infant mortality; etc. So we have an insistent call for instruction in health facts under public auspices in our schools.

Those interested in the preservation of the home have regarded with consternation the non-development of home making in our modern city homes, and have been insistent

that the instruction for girls in the arts of home making be taken over by the public. So we have an insistent call for domestic training, cooking, sewing, infant feeding, etc., in the curriculum of our public schools.

Those who are viewing the industrial situation have been insistent in clamoring for industrial training and education to be given by the public in a series of schools under our Department of Education.

Those who are determined that the children shall have the right to play are insistently calling upon the public to supply the opportunity for play, and this call, too, has been directed in many cases, directly to the school department.

Those who are interested in the moral development of our children have begun to clamor for adequate moral training to be given by the public in our public schools, and there is even a call for religious instruction by the public, either in our public schools or at certain compulsory periods during the week, under denominational auspices.

All these interests, you see, from the point of view of health, from the point of view of the home, from the point of view of industry, from the point of view of recreation, and from the point of view of character, are uniting in a demand made on the public for the adequate development of our children, and the demand on the public practically means a demand upon our public schools. In response to this appeal the public school authorities and educators throughout the country make the reply: We do recognize the wisdom and importance of all these subjects for the enrichment of the curriculum, but it is impossible for us to furnish these additional studies to the children in the time which we now have at our disposal. If you will, however, give us the two years from 14 to 16, the two adolescent years, which for pedagogical reasons we have long wanted, gladly will we put all these highly important subjects into our curriculum. And so the accepted solution of the chief of the problems raised by the facts of city life seems to be found in the recommendation, voiced now repeatedly in this country, and most emphatically too in the minority report of the English Poor Law Commission,—that the period of compulsory education be extended to the sixteenth year, with a contemporaneous modification of, and addition to, the curriculum to be used during this added period.

SOME RECENT INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE PREVALENCE OF HOOKWORM DISEASE AMONG CHILDREN

By CH. WARDELL STILES, Ph. D.

One of the most trying duties an investigator is called upon to perform is to stand beside the sick bed or the death bed of a child, in whose case it is clear that the sickness is due to that easily preventable cause known as "filth."

In our national conceit we Americans imagine that we lead the world in almost any field that can be mentioned. After an experience of seven years' residence and travel among other civilized nationalities which also claim to be civilized, I am unable to escape the conclusion that, taken as a nation, we Americans are dirtier than any of the other civilized nations with which I have come into close contact.

To-day I invite your attention to some studies relative to some of the effects that our filthy American habits have upon our children. Without mentioning the particular localities in which these observations were made, I will say that they involve 2,271 white children, living in 16 different localities, in 5 different states.

These observations may for certain reasons be divided into two series.

First series. The first series of observations involves 161 village or country school children, of whom 70 are boys, and 91 girls. They are attending four different schools, which have 24, 35, 40, and 62 pupils respectively.

Of these 161 pupils, the microscope¹ revealed hook-worm infection in 133 children or in 82.6 per cent. This means that 82.6 per cent. were infected with an intestinal parasite which may stunt their growth, both physical and mental, and which may either be the direct cause of death or may so weaken its victims that they succumb more easily to other diseases, such as tuberculosis, typhoid fever, etc. It means that of these 161 American school children, 82.6 per cent. are studying, playing, and growing under an easily preventable handicap which is due to our American filth.

Of the 133 pupils infected with this disease, 61 are boys and 72 are girls.

¹ The microscopic examinations were made in my laboratory by four of my assistants, Messrs. Crane, Leonard, Altman and Webber.

Thus, of the 70 boys examined, 87.1 per cent. harbor a parasite the effects of which may reduce their laboring capacity and their military efficiency.

Thus, also, of the 91 girls examined, 79.1 per cent. harbor a parasite, one effect of which is to retard the womanhood development; it is also a frequent cause not only of amenorrhea, but also of dysmenorrhea; by weakening a prospective mother, it makes childbirth more difficult and more dangerous, and babe nursing less efficient.

The actual ages of these 161 school children, in even years, varied from 5 to 20 years inclusive. The total actual age is 1,806 years.

The local physician (whose name is not mentioned because I prefer for the present not to give any clew to the exact locality) was requested to estimate, prior to the microscopic examination, the apparent age of each child as indicated by the physical development. According to his judgment, 57 pupils (29 boys, 28 girls) were under-developed from one to eight years each. The total apparent age of the 161 pupils was 1,693 years, namely 113 years below the actual age.

After the microscopic examinations were made, it was found that 49 of these 57 under-developed pupils were infected with hookworms, while in eight cases the microscope gave negative results.

Following out these statistics more in detail, instructive facts develop. Of the 8 uninfected, under-developed pupils, the under-development of five (one boy, four girls), was estimated at one year each, and of three (girls) at two years each, making a total loss of 11 years, or an average loss of about 16 months each.

Of the 49 infected, under-developed pupils (29 boys, 20 girls), the under-development of 15 persons (9 boys, 6 girls), was estimated at one year each, of 23 cases (10 boys, 13 girls) at two years each, of 7 children (6 boys, 1 girl) at three years each, of 3 (boys) at four years each, and of one (boy) at eight years, making for the 49 children a total under-development of 102 years, and average under-development of about 25 months each.

Turning now to the origin of these children, the records show that all of the 161 pupils in question are living on farms. That these facts are not altogether in harmony with the popular conception, that American farm life is the most healthful occupation, may not be pleasing to us, but the conclusion must be faced.

Turning now to the cause of the condition described, it may be stated that pictures of privies were submitted and the type of the outhouse as found at the home of each pupil was

noted on the records. The results show that 94 of these 161 farm children, or 58.3 per cent., are living on farms which have no toilet of any kind, while the remaining 67 pupils are living on farms which have the ordinary, unsanitary, filthy, fly-breeding, disease-spreading surface privy open in the back.

The unsanitary conditions under which these children are living are not to be looked upon as exceptional. For about 200 different localities scattered over six states, other than the one in which these 161 school children live, I have records of about 4,645 farm homes, and of these houses, 55.2 per cent. have no privy of any kind.

These, my friends, are the filthy conditions under which hundreds of thousands of American children are living in various parts of our country, and yet we Americans call ourselves civilized.

Forgetting the sanitary lesson which the Andersonville stockade should have taught us, we permit that same kind of Andersonville stockade soil pollution to continue around thousands of our farm homes, but with this difference: The soil pollution of the Andersonville stockade occurred in time of war, and the penalty was paid by brave men who ran the chances of war; our soil pollution to-day occurs in time of peace and the penalty is paid chiefly by our children.

Second series. The second series of observations covers 2,110 children in 15 schools and orphanages located in 12 cities, towns or villages, in 4 states. The children were classified for hookworm infection into two to four categories, according to circumstances. The particular category which interests us at present is that known as "suspects," namely, those persons in whom one suspects hookworm infection because of the appearance and symptoms. In many of the suspected children in question, microscopic examination confirmed the provisional diagnosis; in a few cases, the microscopic examination was negative; in the other cases, the microscopic test was not applied.

I should, perhaps, explain that to obtain the specimen and to examine it microscopically, often requires considerable time, so that in dealing with a large number of people as one frequently has to do, one is forced to the method used in this second series of cases. It may be frankly admitted that mistakes occur (in possibly 5 to 10 per cent. of the suspects), but these mistakes are more than balanced by the number of cases which have not developed pronounced symptoms, but which would prove positive by the microscopic test. The percentage of suspects may, therefore, be taken as a conservative estimate of the hookworm infection of a

given district, and the conclusion is self-evident that the higher this percentage the greater the soil pollution of a district, provided that other factors are equal.

Of the 15 schools and orphanages in question, the suspects vary from 0.5 to 91.1 per cent. of all the children; of the total number of 2,110 boys and girls in question, 822 children or 38.9 per cent. were classified as suspects.

Churches and schoolhouses. As the factor of public view is a very important one in inducing the construction of a privy, hence an improvement in sanitary conditions by a reduction of soil pollution, this point is one of many which goes to explain the present medieval sanitary condition on so many of our American farms. But what is to be said of our rural schools and rural churches, buildings which are supposed to be in charge of the more educated and more refined members of a community? A short time ago, I made some very plain and outspoken remarks upon this subject, and I regret to say that considerable offense was taken by some of the persons present. As a public health officer, however, it is one of my professional and official duties to point out the existence of these conditions and to bear with good nature the poundings and indignation which result.

It is impossible for me to escape the conclusion that in many localities, our rural churches and rural schools, despite the good they are doing, are in their present medieval sanitary condition a menace to public health, and I fully approve of the action recently taken by a certain health officer who prohibited a certain school from opening its doors until it should comply with the elementary requirements of health protection and decency. I can take you to hundreds of rural schools and rural churches where the males use one side of the woods and the females the other, in responding to the calls of nature, thus turning churchyards and schoolyards into clearing houses for soil pollution diseases such as typhoid fever, hookworm disease, amebic dysentery, Cochinchina diarrhea, etc.

The remedy. The picture I have painted for you is not a pleasant one. It is not pleasant for us to be told that the American people are a dirty people. But it is only by exposing the facts that we can see the necessary remedy. Each of us has his or her hobby. Each may be inclined to magnify the importance of that hobby. My hobby may be summarized in the two words: "Clean Up," and these two words summarize the remedy for the evils which it has been my official and professional duty to study. In our filthy American habits of daily life, I see the cause of more preventable sickness and preventable death than I do in any other one factor

and when I view the dirt and filth surrounding our American homes, and the penalty for that filth and dirt being paid chiefly by our children, I often wonder at our presumption as exhibited in our nation-wide conceit. Think of it my friends, that despite the agitation on the subject of tuberculosis, we Americans have not yet shown the moral courage to stop that filthy and pre-eminently American habit of promiscuous spitting, and think of it, that 55 per cent. of the American farm homes of which I have record have no privy, but are permitting a continuation of the Andersonville stockade soil pollution. Recall that according to a statement Doctor Reed recently made before a committee of the United States Senate, we lose annually in this country 600,000 human lives from preventable causes.

In conclusion, I wish to urge that, in addition to the efforts you are putting forward to train the minds of the children in the schoolroom, in addition to the medical inspection which we all wish to see in the schools, in addition to the open air schools which we all wish to have established, in addition to the moral instruction which we all favor, in addition to the better preparation of food which is so important, in addition to the playgrounds of which we are all in favor, in addition to all the other points thus far mentioned at this conference, the question of the sanitary arrangements in the backyards to the homes in which our children live is a factor second to none that has been discussed, and in those sanitary arrangements we often find the explanation of much of the sickness and death among our rural, village, and suburban children, the explanation of the under-development of many a child, and the backwardness of many a pupil in our schools.

IMPROVING THE RACE

By PROFESSOR WILLIAM A. MCKEEVER

I feel a deep sense of humility and unworthiness in appearing before this body of special and advanced students of child life, and perhaps the best that I may hope to do is to suggest some of the ways whereby the investigations of a number of your members have made it apparent that we may safely work toward the improvement of the race.

TRAINING FOR PARENTHOOD THE REAL ISSUE

Among the many lines of endeavor looking toward the general uplift there is nothing else that seems to me to offer such promises of reward as the systematic training of parents. We have in this country the singular and distressing situation of the most important of all of our vocations—that of child rearing—being undertaken by a body of persons who have had no special and very little general preparation for their great work. This in fact is the greatest anomaly of our scientific age, and I can find no satisfactory explanation of it save, perhaps, in the tremendous weight of tradition.

Yes, it is literally true that we are still following 18th century methods of guess, hearsay and tradition in the pursuit of a work so complex and intricate as to call for the aid and guidance of the most highly trained expert. And yet the serious results of our guessing and blundering are so common that even the unsophisticated may trace them out in the daily conduct of the erring and the sinful. Our country is now overrun with various charitable associations, many of which are being backed up by large means and larger enthusiasm. But nearly all the foregoing societies seem to me to be engaged too much in offering a form of merely temporary relief that invites a worse recurrence of the disease treated, or else they are wasting their energies in attempting to cure chronic ills which a wiser method of procedure might have prevented altogether.

Now, here is a hint as to one of the positions I mean to take in regard to our possibility of race improvement. In the various altruistic organizations to which I have just made reference we find a great flood of enthusiasm losing its power of doing work simply from lack of being directed into the channels of usefulness which such organizations as yours can and must make for it. But I shall say more about that later.

NATURE IN ADVANCE OF NURTURE

The evidence that mental traits born in the parent are transmissible to the child seems to me to be overwhelmingly conclusive. That there are varying degrees of mental as well as physical worth inherent in our human offspring, and that purely ideal processes of selection of parents would bring up the average, perhaps few would doubt. But it will probably be admitted by all close students of eugenics that this goal of ideal selection lies far beyond a horizon that must be approached through a slow, tedious course of public education. Long-standing tradition and foregone conclusion once rooted deep in the public mind may resist the best efforts of a generation's time to eradicate them.

On the other hand, what of good quality and worth have we already in our ordinary human stock? No less an authority than Dr. S. W. Williston, of the University of Chicago, who is one of the world's leading paleontologists to-day, brought out very satisfactorily in a recent lecture the conclusion that man is a comparatively young species of animal. His high degree of fertility, his extreme facility of interbreeding, his great adaptability to ever-changing conditions, all indicate a plasticity and a youthfulness that promise a long period of growth toward a high ideal of development. Man is the only species of animal that is known to be increasing rapidly on every part of the globe. He is likewise the only animal that can successfully transform his environment and subvert nature's processes.

Most significant of all the points of development of this plastic species of animal, *homo sapiens*, is a massive cerebrum making possible inherent cleverness and ready insight together with a high degree of educability. If we may believe Dr. Hall and his many followers this great cerebral centre with its adjuncts constitutes a mighty and capacious storehouse wherein experiences both mental and physical are put away for future use and facility of conduct. If we may believe the lamented John Fiske and his numerous scholarly supporters man is yet actually in process of lengthening the period of his youth and, therefore, of his educability. If we may believe Professor James and his host of ardent admirers, the ordinary man has latent within his brain structures many high levels of efficiency which the common incidents of even our complex life do not awaken into activity.

Moreover, we seem not to have found within the wide limits of the Anglo-Saxon race, for example, any special strains or breeds of human stock that stand out from generation to generation as superior. On the other hand, judged by our ordinary standards of worth, we are constantly looking to the masses, to the so-called great middle classes, for the in-

dividuals who are to rank high in the affairs of the world. While Great Britain has been for many generations breeding from a somewhat isolated stock of nobility, the results do not seem to show any superior advantage. But for virility and strength of character in the offspring the intermixture of blood incident of our social democracy has probably never been surpassed.

And so, we seem to have in the common man a general plasticity and youthfulness far surpassing the needs of the present age; and within his organism a physical and mental potentiality far beyond our present-day means of development. Now, the conclusion seems to me obvious, namely, that our present hope of improving the human race lies on the side of nurture rather than nature. That is, it is a work of training rather than breeding.

I admit that it is presumptuous in me to take this stand in contradiction of such eminent authority as Dr. Karl Pearson, who holds that breeding is in ratio of ten to one a more important factor in race culture than training. He may be right, but his methods of proof seem to embody the very grave fallacy of begging the question. Assuming that Oxford graduates constitute a very superior race of men and that non graduates constitute a relatively inferior one, he proceeds to show that the offspring of the graduates are ten times more successful and prominent in life than the progeny of the non graduates. But it seems to me that in his investigations Dr. Pearson has been too neglectful of the fact of a very superior environment favoring both the Oxford graduate and his children. Moreover, the great weight of traditional belief in the caste system and in the inherent rank of blood seems to blind the English eugenists to many of the important facts. What assurance have they, for example, that present conditions of environment and belief will allow for the realization of the best latent aptitudes in their *common* stock of men?

THE WEIGHT OF TRADITION AND OPINION

We shall probably never reach such a stage of enlightenment that every individual will know how to analyze his own life and how to determine at any time the source of his ideas and opinions. At present the great masses of the people must depend for their opinions upon the weight of tradition as modified by present situations. But these traditions are constantly changing. Ideas that once had, through their popular hold on the people, great weight in behalf of the public welfare, may now stand as a positive menace to their progress. For example, the ideal of personal liberty and independence, once so fitting and dynamic in the up-building of this then open and sparsely settled country, is now probably holding a place

of importance in the public mind which belongs properly to the newer ideal of team work or interdependence. I have been wishing of late that some great expounder of truth would show us in a clear and comprehensive way how to let go of the former, once helpful ideal, which now seems to be breaking us up into opposing factions, and to take hold of the latter ideal which seems to be so much more consistent with the progress of this day, when one is about to be placed through invention and discovery within whispering distance of every one else. So here is a hint of my second position with reference to race improvement by means of expert guidance. You can and must devise means whereby to direct the masses in the reshaping of traditional ideals and thus make such ideals better suited to present and ever-changing conditions.

The public press stands ready to-day to receive with almost uniform favor any announcement which this organization may see fit to make of a programme for race improvement. But, see to it that the stamp of good authority be placed conspicuously upon such announcement.

OUR UNEXPLORED CHILD LIFE

Notwithstanding the great amount of present-day interest in the matter, when it comes to a definite knowledge of the indirect relations of causes and effects, of experience and character, the life of the human young is a relatively unexplored field. How inadequate especially is our information concerning these matters. For a long time we pointed to the trying situations of the frontiersman as being almost ideal for the development of stable, efficient, character in the young. But those pioneer days are gone from us and with them whatever natural advantages they possessed for human development. But what specifically were those advantages? Can we preserve them in an artificial form and still make use of them in training the young? And what opportunities were lacking in the environment of the pioneer, which lack we may perhaps supply by intelligent means? In contrast to the pioneer life of hard work, suffering, want and privation, we have to-day an environment that tends to furnish the growing young every advantage of pampering, a way of easy progress, and many a thrill of excitement. Now, just what are we to do with these modern thrills which our age seems to hold out in such profusion for the young? Can our children grow up and become strong, steady, sober thinkers in spite of them? Moreover, what do we intensive students of child psychology know as yet for a certainty about these matters? Somewhere between the two extremes of the hard, isolated pioneer life and the easy-going, exciting child life of to-day, there probably lies

a happy mean, a mean, however, which is also constituted of certain elements of both the extremes just named. Now, what are some of the specific marks of this happy mean? I ask. Who has worked them out? Here, then, is a third hint of how such an association as yours can and must proceed to bring about the improvement of the race. That is, discover the specific worth as character-building material of the manifold forms of experience which our environment is offering to children.

Here I will ask a few simple questions which I should like to see worked out definitely through broad research and investigation.

1. How much of value and how much of wastefulness is there in our present methods of physical training? Are we relying too much upon the principle and practice of formal discipline and should physical training be early differentiated with reference to what the vocational life will probably be?

2. How can we directly aid and supplement the work of the school, the home and the other institutions in orientating the young life, so that every latent aptitude within it may receive the benefit of a complete awakening.

3. As a re-formulation of the two questions above, what specific things can be done in order that parents everywhere may be reasonably assured that their children are finally to be guided into a life position which is consistent with their most promising latent ability and their final power of inner choice—therefore, a divine calling.

4. Voluminous as is the literature on the subject, how really scientific is our knowledge of habit? We are fond of remarking about good habits and striving to inculcate them through discipline; and of condemning bad habits and striving to avoid their introduction into the lives of the young. But what habits are absolutely good and what ones are absolutely bad? I have been surprised at the ease and facility with which some modern youths trained through moderate dissipation are able to meet successfully certain trying conditions which seem to overcome those who have been brought up under the very strict rules of the so-called good habits. Moreover, I am disappointed with the utter inability of those who have lived all their young lives in the experience of only the good to appreciate broadly and to interpret at all adequately the various types of our social life. In other words, the latter class have all their lives been too good to know consciously what it is to be wicked, and so unable to be fair and just in their attitude toward the so-called evil doer.

5. To what extent do the principles of evolution, so called, really apply to human life and conduct? We see how in the animal world the principle of the survival of the fittest has

prevailed, how nature has weeded out the unfit. But what is to be regarded as the environment properly at work eliminating them? Some great thinker not long ago was crying out against our modern methods of saving life through the practice of medicine and surgery. "Let nature alone," he said in substance, "and she will eliminate the unfit and leave a better and stronger race." "Nature, through her effective processes, will carry off those subject to such diseases as yellow fever and appendicitis and leave a race immune with respect to these diseases." But these very scientists who are decrying modern interference with the work of nature have overlooked one important issue, namely, that man is very busy transforming his own environment and that as a consequence the individual who survives only by means of artificial aid to-day may stand among the ranks of the fit to-morrow. So we went into the yellow fever district and instead of allowing the environment to continue longer to kill off the unfit we took a large slice out of the environment by means of our fight upon the mosquito down there, and thus rendered it no longer effective in its deadly work. And speaking of appendicitis, who knows but that within this current year some quiet, hard-working genius may discover the precise cause of this disease and thus bring about an easy elimination of another destructive factor in the environment? Thus, we see Mother Nature, whom we once regarded as unalterably at work eliminating the unfit among men, may herself be found partly unfit to withstand the genius of man.

So we might go on naming the problems which such organizations as yours may profitably take up in a well directed effort to improve the race life.

MORE PRACTICAL METHODS NEEDED

If I were worthy to criticise the method of modern research students of child welfare I should say that there has been done much more by way of discovering facts than by way of placing these facts in useful form in the hands of the people who heed them. Here, it seems to me, is a point upon which our interests must be centered in the future. The question then divides itself into two or three important aspects. First, of course, we must have the facts. And the best research method will carry us out among the people at large where we are to gather up, bit by bit, the loose threads of juvenile conduct and bring them back and weave them into a systematic whole. Right here we are reminded of the chief element of weakness of the questionnaire, namely, the person interrogated is so often inadequately prepared to give an intelligent answer to our questions. So here is suggested another phase of the

problem of doing practical work, namely, we must, as stated heretofore, make a greater effort to train directly for parenthood. We need to bring out a small body of literature written in plain, simple, language and covering the subjects of elementary psychology, the psychology of child development, and the like, and place these books in the hands of all parents whom we can induce to receive them. These books should be selected and backed up by the highest authority on child welfare so that the public at large would tend to regard their acceptance as a matter of necessity.

PREPARE A CURRICULUM

A very practical method of bringing about direct results would be to organize a central bureau of experts which would be engaged in working out, one at a time, the child problems; and which would make a report of their conclusions, from time to time, to all interested parents. In this connection I wish to express my impatience with that class of persons who insist that we should not report any of our conclusions until we have pursued the problem to its end and established the results beyond all doubt. No such final conclusions are possible. There will always be something of an element of uncertainty and doubt. And so I urge you to offer your conclusions, though incomplete, to the public at large as fast as you have reduced them to a tangible form. Always give them out in the form of a simple, practical statement, offering all the information that will help. For one, I am no longer afraid of being laughed at on account of my blunders, many of which are being made. The people are always inclined to make light of innovations and are just as likely to sneer and laugh at your successes as they are to make fun of your blunders. So I say, in this child welfare work, let us have more in the nature of the aggressive, open fight for higher things. Let us cease to hide our findings in some obscure place or in some abstract form away from the eyes of the public. Let us blunder away in Heaven's name, determining to find out all we can that is good and to report it to the thousands who are waiting eager to receive it; willing to be found in error, to admit our faults openly, and to readjust ourselves to the work in the light of new conclusions.

The home life constitutes a great school—perhaps the greatest school—for the instruction and discipline of the child. And yet this great school is being conducted by unskilled teachers who are absolutely without a course of study to guide them. It is difficult for one to understand why a committee of experts cannot work out a curriculum for this home school just has been done for the day school. Where would our public

school be to-day if we should say to each and every teacher, "Make up your own texts, your own subject-matter and use your own method." And yet, this is precisely what we are saying in effect to the parent-teacher.

Perhaps you do not need to be reminded that the greatest practical work we are to perform in the interest of the child is destined to be achieved through the instrumentality of the mothers. They, by the very nature of things, are close to the children. I remind you also of the average woman's respect for the authority of the men and women of scholarly rank, and that you can and must take such advantage of this situation as will help mothers in the training of their children. Just as fast as you pass out this assistance to the mothers, though incomplete and fragmentary your conclusions may be, they will become that much more interested in the task of child rearing and that much more competent to report back to you the things which happen under their own eyes.

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

I maintain, therefore, in conclusion, that without just now taking very seriously into account the question of eugenics, the possibilities of race improvement through intelligent courses of training are apparently very great. The methods now summarized are:

1. Seek to draw the attention of parents and others interested in child welfare to the work you are undertaking in order that their enthusiasm may be no longer wasted or misplaced.
2. Find out through research and wide inquiry the worth as character building material of many types of ordinary juvenile conduct.
3. Reduce your findings in the foregoing investigations to practical forms with a view to their being placed at a minimum expense into the hands of all parents who may be willing to receive them.
4. Let your body select from the best available literature on child welfare and training a series of treatises covering the various phases of child psychology, and seek to have parents everywhere adopt these books as their guide.
5. While the doctrine of formal discipline has not wholly withstood the close scrutiny of analysis, the doctrine of ideals probably ranks higher than ever before. Then seek in systematic ways to inculcate in the minds of parents high ideals of the latent possibilities of child life, and at the same time furnish as best you can, to all interested parents, the specific means of bringing such ideals into realization. In this connection pay attention also to the constructive ideals that may be formulated in the minds of the young.

THE PROBATION SYSTEM, ITS VALUE AND LIMITATIONS

By HOMER FOLKS

New York is quite a different place from Kansas. If one of the boys growing up there should ever read about a saloon and want to see what one is, he would be quite sure, if he came to New York, to be able to gratify his curiosity. He would also find plenty of cigarettes. Having been born and brought up in Michigan, I cannot say that I view these things with unmixed approval. I look forward hopefully to the time when we shall be more nearly like Kansas than we are at present. I particularly hope that Professor McKeever and others of the thoughtful people of Kansas will take pains to let us know quite specifically, the social effects of their prohibitory legislation, because I think that we in New York and in other eastern states are getting ready to take hold of that question, to a certain extent at least, from the social point of view, and we need to know the facts as to the effects of such legislation prohibiting the sale of liquor in Kansas and elsewhere. We look forward to receiving great enlightenment as to the course which we ought to pursue, from Kansas. Meanwhile we cherish our saloons rather carefully in New York. We do not even let the people of cities vote as to whether they will have them or not; nor the people of counties. We permit country towns to vote as to whether they will have saloons but that privilege under our present laws and under the action of our recent legislature, is denied to the people of any particular city or county. So long as we have saloons and cigarettes and certain other things of that kind in New York, I suppose we shall have the conditions which make it necessary to talk about probation and the probation system.

Probation is a very modest part indeed of the general field of the care and improvement of the conditions of child life. It has to do only with the children after they are born, and only with such as in the course of time go considerably astray and are brought before the courts, either because of alleged offenses on their own part or because of neglect or evil conditions on the part of the home and of the parents, which are apt to lead to much the same result.

My task for a few minutes is to consider the nature of probation, something about how much can be accomplished by it under proper conditions, and something about its limitations. First let us get fairly clearly before us, what probation is, and what it is not, before we talk of its advantages and its limitations. Probation has become contagious recently, and has extended pretty rapidly to nearly all the states of the country. Along with it, being also contagious, have gone certain erroneous ideas. These are, first, that it is a very new thing, recently discovered, simultaneously in Chicago and Denver, and spreading from there to other parts of the United States. Second, that besides being a new thing in the history of the world, it is a panacea for pretty much all the evils that befall neglected and wayward children. Now, the essence of probation, as I understand it, is a very old thing. There is nothing really new about it. It is simply organized study and systematic kindness. It is as closely akin as possible to the best forms of mutual helpfulness and neighborliness that have come down through all the history of the world. Probation is not a system of judicial but injudicious lecturing of children in the courtroom. It is not a system of having children once a week call on a judge or probation officer and say that they have been behaving during the week past. It is a system by which a person selected for his personal qualifications of ability and thoughtfulness goes into the homes of these children, becomes personally acquainted with the child and with his home, and does many kinds of things in a friendly and constructive way, which will help that child to keep straight, and will help the home to get on the right path.

Such is the substance of the probation work, which, to a certain extent, must be contrasted with the alternative, the removal of the child from his home, and his commitment to an institution known as a reformatory or industrial school. Among the advantages of this system of personal constructive work in the home of the child, there seem to me to be the following: In the first place, no one can sit with a juvenile court judge for more than a very short time without being impressed with the fact that there are a good many children, and a good many homes and a good many circumstances about which evidently *something* needs to be done; and yet conditions are such that to take the child from his parents, to send him to a distance from his home, to make him a public charge, and to deprive him of his liberty would be administering very severe, unwarranted and unusual punishment, for an offence requiring only much milder treatment. Without probation officers and the probation system, there is no alternative except to let the child go with a lecture by

the judge, or to go to the other extreme and deprive him of his liberty. I suspect that of the very large number of children who have been placed on probation, it would be found, if all the facts were known, that probably from sixty to seventy per cent. would not have been committed to institutions had there been no probation system. They would have simply been reprimanded and discharged. Probation, therefore, adds an important factor to the resources of any community in dealing with the problem of wayward and neglected children. It offers an intermediate step.

The second advantage of the probation system, as compared with a reformatory institution, is that it is cheap; and in these days of increasing cost of living, of pressure upon the public treasury for innumerable institutions, for the support of consumptives and for many other things which must be done, anything which relieves the public of an unnecessary expense is not to be overlooked or dismissed as unworthy of consideration.

The third, and one of the most important advantages of the probation system is that it does something for the family as well as for the child. The family is the true social unit. This we all believe in theory, however much we deny it in practice. To treat the child alone by removing him to an institution is to ignore the other members of the family, and their vital relation to the situation.

Another consideration in favor of probation work, which grows upon me, is this; that it is a good thing for any community, that the problem of dealing with its own failures, with things that have gone wrong within its own boundaries, should be worked out in its own presence, in its own sight, that it should be kept face to face with, and made to consider constantly the problems arising out of its own social conditions. It is rather a cowardly, unworthy thing to send away the boy or the girl just to protect ourselves. It is the first and instinctive feeling, I think, on the part of most citizens, that when a boy or girl does something wrong and troublesome, that he or she should be "sent away;" but that, whether it be good or not for the boy, certainly is not good for the community as a whole.

The probation system is also good for the community as a whole in another and still more important way. The institutional plan sees only the individual side of an offence; it sees only the offender. It seeks to reform him by concentrating upon him, all sorts of good influences in an institution, isolating him from all other elements and factors. Now, it requires but little reflection and little observation of the facts, to reach a conclusion, which one will never reverse—that

crime and delinquency and all sorts of offences, are social products to fully as great an extent as they are individual products. Each case represents a process of deterioration, in which the environment, the school, and the household, as well as the particular child, are at fault. Now the process of plucking out the child by force from his environment, and sending him away to some other place, to be deprived of his liberty, and shut up in an institution, ignores wholly the social conditions and causes and factors leading to all those undesirable results. The probation system takes a middle course. It recognizes, without, perhaps, being conscious of it, both the individual and the social causes and conditions. The probation officer, if he is worth his salt, must proceed to study the causes which have led to the troubles of each of his individual probationers. A juvenile court, like Boston, is a state of mind more than a locality. The fact that it is a separate court has been unduly emphasized. The important fact that it is a new attitude of mind toward the problem of the children. It is a place for the study and consideration of all the problems of child life, and inevitably probation work leads straight to the community problems that tend to delinquency and neglect among children. To follow the process of removing all the children, readily and quickly, who go wrong, to institutions, is to administer opiates to the community. It is to turn its mind away from its own serious problems.

The probation system is also good, in my judgment, under proper limitations for the child,—better for many of them, in fact, than training in any institution, no matter how good. First, because it teaches him, or undertakes to teach him, self-control and self-direction, without depriving him of his liberty. We under-estimate, I think, nearly all of us grievously under-estimate, what a serious and in fact, cruel thing it is to shut up a child in any kind of an institution, for he is shut up in even the best of them. He is not at liberty to come and go, as in his own home, and how can we expect him to learn to resist temptation, to manage himself well, by depriving him of the opportunity to manage himself and to meet and overcome temptation?

The probation system, as contrasted with the institutional system, also appeals to me in that it does not tend to over-stimulation of the child. The ordinary institution (not all of them) is a most highly complex mechanical place; routine follows the child from morning till night. He is fitted into a series of performances. He must adjust himself every moment of the day to the routine of that particular institution. One of the wisest of the superintendents of such insti-

tutions, and one of the most experienced, a man who had developed an institution that, perhaps, excelled all others in the country in its military drill and in its trade teaching and in the excellence of its mechanics, abandoned all those features of the work, moved his boys to the country, bought a large farm, scattered them as widely as possible over a large area and developed small farm groups. I sought his justification for this radical change in method, and as nearly as I could understand his point of view, and as nearly as I can condense what he said in the course of a half-day into a minute or two, it was this: that the highly complicated institution with its military drill and with all its variety of training, produced clever boys, but not stable boys—boys who could not stand the strain of ordinary competition, boys who were bright but who had no reserve, who lacked in judgment in meeting the emergencies that arise everyday in the life of every person; and in his judgment the quiet of the ordinary household, the work of the farm, the preservation of a particular family group, was of far greater value in setting wayward boys right than all the industrial training and all the artificial and complex organization that could be provided.

I like the probation system, again, because it puts personal and friendly relations with adults into the foreground among reformatory influences. All the institutions are feeling their way toward the cottage system, the small group, and are so doing because they recognize that it is the individual teacher or caretaker in the institution whose direct personal influence with the child is the vital thing; that all the other things about it are mechanical and many of them are negligible if not harmful. Now those same influences can be had through the use of a proper probation system and without depriving the child of his liberty, without incurring the expense of his maintenance as a public charge.

I like the probation system, again, because it offers many and varied things for many and varied kinds of boys. No two of the boys coming to a juvenile court are alike. The circumstances that have led to their presence there are never alike in any two cases. An institution is practically one thing; it has one set of influences. There is some little difference, some differentiation, but in the main it is one thing. It does not lend itself to the multifarious sorts of conditions and previous environments which have left their trace upon each different boy.

Then lastly, I like the probation system particularly because it leaves the child, when it is over, in normal and vital relations to the community. That is to say, in his home, adjusted to his school, or if working, to his employment.

There is no sharp break between the period of his probationary oversight and his subsequent life. It is a continuous thing. On the other hand, what could be more abrupt than leaving a reformatory institution and returning to the community? How little one can judge of what the boy will do outside, from what he does in such an unnatural atmosphere! How many are the chances that he will fail to make those communications with school and with home life and with occupations that he must make and must maintain if our work is to be conserved!

There are some things, however, that the probation system cannot do. It cannot make over a very bad home, and if the home conditions are thoroughly bad it is a mistake to temporize and delay by placing a child on probation. It cannot provide vocational training unless the vocational training is in the schools and available for all the children of the community. It is organized kindness and organized study and consideration, but it cannot neutralize organized graft and organized immorality and organized exploitation of children, which must be met in nearly every municipality in our country.

It has its limitations. The first limitation which would be suggested by many does not appeal to me as being a limitation. I mention it, to deny its validity. Whenever we hear much about this subject of probation, it is in order for some one to say that in considering the child we have forgotten the more important fact of the well-being of society, that in relieving the child of the punishment that would follow his act, we are failing to protect society, and that probation removes the deterrent effect upon others that would follow commitment of children to institutions. For one, I am unable to see that severity of punishment does have a deterrent effect upon others. We shall never know, probably, so complex is human nature, to what extent punishment does actually deter others, so many factors enter in, but it is perfectly safe to say that our treatment of an individual offender should be such that it will have a deterrent effect upon him against a commitment of further offenses. But the probation system can accomplish that, and properly demonstrated, it is quite as apt to have that effect as imprisonment.

A second limitation of the probation system at present is that we have not worked out any adequate administrative plan for its control. It is a part of the courts thus far, but contrast for a moment the organization and the machinery of a reformatory institution for two hundred boys, with its board of managers at the top, its superintendent, its assistant

superintendents, its teachers, its caretakers, its varied system of control, its inspection by a state board, with the ordinary probation work of a court with from one to three or perhaps more probation officers, with no particular organization, and supposed to be under the direction of a judge, whose time is fully occupied with other work. In the long run we must, I think, develop a system of direction and control of the actual work of probation, apart from the courts, placing the probation machinery at their service, just as we now place the reformatory institutions at their service.

The other limitations that I shall suggest very briefly relate to the administration of probation. The first is its indiscriminate use, and its use for improper purposes. I suggested at the beginning that probation is not a panacea for all the ills of childhood, and it is even more true that it is not a proper treatment for all children coming before a court, and it lends itself peculiarly and very naturally and readily to the judge who wishes to yield to pressure in favor of the release of a particular child by reason of the political influence of his parents and friends. It sounds so much better to say that the child is placed on probation than to say he is discharged.

The third limitation is superficial work on the part of the probation officers. So many children are placed under one person that any effective oversight of them, any strong personal relation with each one, is out of the question. This undoubtedly is true of most of the probation work of the country. There are not more than two or three courts (I will not even except Judge Lindsey's court or the court in Chicago) in which the probation force is large enough to permit of a real, close, vital relation between the probation officer and the individual child, and without that the probation system is nothing.

The next difficulty is that it often becomes sentimental and unsystematic. It is entered upon in a spirit of enthusiasm, is applied indiscriminately, with no backbone, with little done, with no particular beginning and no particular ending. The Judge warns the child that if he does wrong again he will do something much more severe, but the boy does wrong again and nothing happens. In one city a juvenile court judge announced that he would not commit any children to institutions. The net result of placing everybody on probation over and over again was simply to negative the statute books in that city.

The next most prominent difficulty is that of a very short term of probation. Sometime ago we fought out the fight that a commitment to a reformatory institution should be

for an indefinite term the duration of which is to be determined by the conduct of the person while in the institution, and that short sentences were fruitless either in dealing with adults or children. Now if it takes a considerable time—a year or a year and a half or two years,—when you have entire control of a child, when you can eliminate all the factors of his earlier environment, when you can select his teachers and the place where he is to live and the kind of work he is to do, and the number of hours he is to work, when he is wholly in your charge, how much longer it must take to be sure that you are accomplishing results when he remains in the environment which originally produced trouble, when the parents and many other factors not under your control are also to be considered. It is nothing less than ridiculous, then, to talk of placing children on probation for ten days or for thirty days, as very frequently happens in New York. Anything less than a term of a year, and in many cases of two years or longer, is practically meaningless.

The last limitation is that we have not secured as yet, and are not as yet in a way to get, very much accurate knowledge of what the outcome really is of placing children on probation; I mean in a scientific, in a defensible way. You may read in the report of a juvenile court nearly always a statement of the percentage of children who do well. Oft-times you will even find that such and such a percentage was "saved" by the juvenile court and the probation system. Now the higher the percentage of salvage, the stronger the probability that the court does not know what the facts are. For instance, with children placed on probation for one month—how meaningless it is to say, as does the report of the New York juvenile court, that some ninety per cent. of the children were saved to society by the juvenile court and the probation system. Surgery forty years ago spelled butchery. A small operation, the removal of a finger, very likely would be followed by death, and to open up the abdominal cavity was, indeed, a hazardous performance. To-day these things are done as a matter of course. What is the difference between the surgery that was butchery and the surgery that is the saving of life? It is not that operations are very different, not that they are done in a different way in their main features. One big thing accounts for the change, and that is the development of a technique, the following out to its final furthest possibilities of the principle of cleanliness, nothing but plain ordinary cleanliness carried to the last possible degree. I expect that in the development of our probation work and of our social work generally we shall find the line of progress not in radically altering our methods,

but in doing with the utmost skill and care and precision and method the things that we now do in a more or less haphazard, careless, ineffectual way; the difference between getting the best results and failing to get them is in that margin of care, of method, of accuracy and of precision, which we may all have, if we but try for it.

PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEFECTIVE AND DELINQUENT CHILDHOOD

By REV. WILLIAM Q. BENNETT, Ph. D.

We have long since come to the conclusion that it is essential to the nation's perpetuity that we have training schools at West Point and Annapolis. Our motto is: "In time of peace prepare for war."

Trained diplomats, soldiers, sailors and marines are always needed and never more so than now.

This is the age of preparation on almost all lines. We have got away very largely from the thought that anything will do. Our position is that only the best will do. The question however is, as to whether we have applied this principle to moral and spiritual things. We believe that if accuracy and preparation are essential in material things they are equally so in spiritual, and in fact more so.

The best place for preparation and training in the higher and deeper things of life is in the Church and the home. We speak of the home at this time because it is especially the training school for citizenship. If, however, the home is not what it ought to be then it is time we were paying more attention to it than we are.

We are facing the age of defective and delinquent childhood and that because of delinquent parenthood, at least to some extent.

We cannot help but feel that many children are more sinned against than sinning. If St. Paul's admonition as to not being "unequally yoked together with unbelievers" had been heeded since his day, history would read differently from what it does.

The home life has more to do with happy lives and a nation's greatness than we give it credit for.

In order that we may see the force of, or better grasp, this idea we will point out some things which are essential if defective and delinquent childhood is to be controlled.

Let me state first of all, that we have nothing but words of praise to say of Detention Homes, Philanthropic Schools, Junior Republics, Farm Schools and kindred places, as they are a necessity. We bid all such God-speed. They will always be needed for a certain class of children, especially

those who are left orphans or handicapped in other ways. There are, however, thousands who would not need the sheltering care and godly guidance of the noble men and women in these places if parents paid more attention to their duties than they are doing.

If the change is to take place that we desire, what must be done?

I

First of all greater discrimination than ever must be used by those who contemplate marriage, as such a step is one of the most sacred of all and fraught with the greatest of consequences to the individual,—the home,— the church,— and the nation.

It has seemed to us that there are those who enter into such an alliance in a rather flippant spirit and act as though they were going on a picnic and expected to have a jolly good time. Their actions, if not their words, tell us that if they do not like each other they will dissolve partnership.

We do not believe that God looks upon such a step with favor and such people forget that "whatever ye do in word or deed do all in the name of the Lord Jesus."

The marriage vow is too lightly esteemed and is therefore not kept as it ought to be. Many seem to have lost their sense of right and justice.

Our experience in the ministry has convinced us that there are those who marry in a hurry and repent at leisure. We have seen a hasty step lead to a lifetime of regret and great sorrow.

It is right and proper for people to marry and God has placed His seal upon it, but how many people are as thoughtful and careful as they ought to be when contemplating it.

You ask what we mean? We would have young folks guard against secret sinning necessitating this step and ask them to demand of each other virtue for virtue, purity for purity, and sobriety for sobriety. It is essential that one be as pure as the other if future generations are to be what they ought to be.

We believe that such a step ought not to be taken unless one is moved by pure purposes and with the desire to please God. If such motives prompt one to matrimony then their offspring will be benefitted thereby, but the reverse of this is true.

We also believe that if young folks were more guarded in their relation one with another, or in the keeping of late hours, we would have better parents in the days to come.

It is likewise the duty of young folks to learn all they can of the moral, mental, physical and spiritual condition of the one whom they contemplate marrying. This information

may be obtained by the aid of parents, guardians and physicians. It may be and is a delicate matter, but it is highly important that certain facts be known in time as these might prevent marriage and save a life time of regret. It is our conviction that we are rather squeamish whereas we ought to use sanctified common sense, and intelligence, in dealing with matters which have so much to do with things present and things to come.

Do you ask why?

(a) The *North American* of Philadelphia, of June 2nd, 1910, in its leading editorial said:

"But there is an awakening. The common man and woman are coming to know that the dictates of good business sense as well as those of humanity demand a new and more effective policy on the part of the community in dealing with the growing evil of defectives and delinquents.

"One expert in feeble-minded children has estimated that there are 1,000 in the public schools of Philadelphia. Others have put the estimate as low as 250. Somewhere between these two figures the exact facts may be found.

"But whatever the mathematical figure, the important truth is that there is a great body of mental weaklings at large, associating with normal children, receiving no special training and under no restraint.

"Every one of those mental defectives is a candidate for an insane ward. But what is still more ominous, every one of those children is a new centre for the spread of mental taint through the community."

"At the New Jersey Training School for Feeble-Minded Children a campaign was begun some time ago to trace the causes of mental deficiency. Every case that came into the school was made the subject of special study with that end in view. Field workers were kept busy in every part of the state, digging into the records of the families that sent patients to the institution.

"Professor E. R. Johnstone, the superintendent, is looking for the truth, and he declines to permit the institution to be committed to any theory without absolute proof. Professor Johnstone particularly emphasizes the assertion that his investigations show that feeble-mindedness cannot be attributed to any one original cause. But, on the other hand, his records give undoubted proof that the strain of mental deficiency once having been established, is perpetuated and spread to an alarming extent through heredity.

"One case brought to light at the Vineland institution has become famous in sociological circles. A feeble-minded child was admitted to the institution. The investigators looked

up the family record. As far back as it could be traced on one side or the other, and that was for four generations, there was a mental taint.

"The mother of the inmate had been feeble-minded. The good women of the village in which she lived, becoming aware of an impending scandal, had taken it upon themselves to save the moral tone of the little community by providing the girl with a husband. He was the town drunkard and an epileptic.

"The result was that instead of giving the community one feeble-minded child that woman gave nine. And only one of these was properly restrained. The others were at large, to continue the line indefinitely.

"The case recalls that of a famous imbecile family in Central Pennsylvania which has given to this state something like one hundred half-witted citizens.

"And it also suggests that while the experts decline to give any one primary cause of feeble-mindedness, all investigations point to alcoholism and the diseases of vice as two particularly prolific sources."

(b) The Civic Club of Philadelphia met on Tuesday, June 21st, to consider what it might do to help take care of the feeble-minded and change the causes leading to such conditions.

Dr Joseph S. Neff, Director of Health and Charities said:

"The cure of these unfortunes is a state responsibility, and yet we can judge from the alleged conditions of the Rittersville Asylum that the responsibility for such things weighs but lightly. The legislature should be forced to take this matter of Philadelphia defectives up at its next session.

"From personal experience and reliable investigation I know, that the increase of feeble-minded is far more dangerous and certain than that of the insane.

"Another authority, Mrs. Martha Falconer, superintendent of the Girls' House of Refuge, strongly denounced the condition of the city, which makes no provision for its feeble-minded girls and women.

"Many are sent to me, she said, whom I know are feeble-minded, and should in the first place never have been at freedom to commit the crimes or offenses for which they are sentenced. I can hold these girls until they are 21, but what is to become of them after that? The violent cases can be sent to Norristown it is true, but that is not right. Neither is it right to send them out into the world.

"Many are incapable of protecting or caring for themselves in the slightest degree. Yet they are allowed to go and become mothers of children, who in turn become criminals or degenerates with diseased minds and bodies."

"Mrs. J. L. Pickering, chief probation officer for the Juvenile Court of Philadelphia, gave statistics to prove that a large majority of young criminal or "bad" boys and girls are the victims of tendencies inherited from defective parents."

"We who work with children," she said, "realize why many of them are weak in mind and body, and know that in the majority of cases the *parents themselves* should have been in custodial care. If we can take our feeble-minded children now, train and segregate them and prevent in the future their bringing children like or worse than themselves into the world, we are striking at the very root of the evil which now has our asylums and workhouses crowded and we could do no greater thing for posterity."

These folks voice our sentiment. They are experts and know what they are talking about.

One may ask, why take such a position or attempt to stand on such high ground?

For two reasons:

(a) First it would be better if a Christian girl did not marry an unchristian man and *vice versa*. It works disastrously when two do not agree as to the policy of the home and the religious training therein. How can they be agreed if one is a Christian and the other is not? There cannot be any active sympathy between them.

We have seen lives wrecked as a result of believers being united with unbelievers and we have noticed it so often that when there is not co-operation in the home the offspring usually suffers. But suppose a Christian marries a Christian and then allows the pressure of business, pleasure or home duties to crowd in on them so as to cause them to neglect their obligation to God and man, then what of the result? The household suffers. It is certain as we have already shown, that delinquent and defective parenthood means delinquent and defective childhood.

(b) It has been our conviction for a long while that we need to tone up the moral and spiritual life of the home, and if we do then many of the child problems which face us to-day would solve themselves.

Children are neglected, perhaps not willfully but through ignorance, carelessness and indifference. We do not mean to say that they are not properly clothed, housed and educated,—they may be, but what of the soul—the immortal spirit? What of their moral and spiritual nature? Does it not need attention fully as much as the physical and mental?

There are parents who think it would be a crime to neglect the mental and physical development of their offspring but how many of them ever take time to teach their children "thus saith the Lord."

We have trained hundreds of children in the church and at camp meetings and it is our candid judgment that not fifty per cent. of them knew the Ten Commandments, Apostles Creed, Books of the Bible, The Beatitudes and the Catechism, and yet the parents of many of them promised to teach them these things when they dedicated them to God in the holy rite of Baptism. We have found dense ignorance as to the great moral and spiritual truths which children ought to know. We have found few parents who have taken their children alone and talked to them about the deep things of God or their relation to the other sex. It may be that our experience is an abnormal one, but we think not.

We have long since come to the conclusion that we ought to have a Parents' Conference in which we are to deal specifically with the things we have named. The parental conscience needs to be aroused and developed.

It is a self-evident fact that if young people are not as discriminating as they ought to be in the selecting of their companions for life, that we cannot expect to have wholesome home influence.

Or if parents have been led into sin and lightly esteem the marriage vow, what of the morals of such a home and what of the effect upon the child in such an atmosphere? It is bound to be disastrous.

We are aware of the fact that the home environment has not all to do with setting the pace of a child's life, but it has very much to do with it. Precept, example and companionship are a trio which exert a marked influence on the young as well as the old. They make or help to make the environment.

I read a statement the other day to the effect that of the 11,293 convict pupils of the Elmira Reformatory that about 48% of the entire number were taken from an environment which is given as positively bad; in 37% the environment is given as fair only; while in but 14% it is given as having been good. In other words, nearly half of all the inmates were reared in surroundings positively bad."

This statement corroborates our position as to the influence of the home environment upon young life.

Probation officers and others who have to do with child life can attest to the truth of our position and having served as a probation officer we speak from experience. Our position is as it has been that parents can, if they will, prevent much of the delinquency of to-day.

Dr. Bittner in pamphlet No. 1195 of the Child Labor Committee says: "The more young criminals are studied, the oftener the question is asked as to the amount of personal

responsibility they bear for their crimes. It is generally acknowledged that inheritance and environment have far more to do with the production of crime than any other influence. But inheritance is simply the effects of environment transmitted. We are fond of saying blood will tell, but what we should say is environment will tell, whether immediate or transmitted. Let me prove this by a quotation:

"Max Jukes" was born of good Dutch stock in 1720. He would not go to school, would not work. He wanted to go fishing, hunting and trapping. So he left home early, went to the woods, and on the border of a beautiful lake in New York State he built his shanty, which became a notorious cradle of crime. Of the 1,200 descendants of "Max Jukes" 310 were professional paupers, who were in poor houses 2,300 years; 300 died in infancy for lack of good care; fifty women lived lives of notorious debauchery; 400 men and women were physically wrecked by their own wickedness; seven were murderers; 130 were convicted criminals. The almost universal traits of the family were idleness, ignorance, and vulgarity. These characteristics led to disease and disgrace, to pauperism and crime—the 1,200 costing the state in crime and pauperism more than \$1,250,000, or more than \$1,000 each, including men, women and children.

The Edwards family was also investigated and a marked contrast was seen in the two. Our author says:

"The main purpose of the study of the Edwards family is to present a cheery, comforting, and convincing contrast to the Jukes family with its abhorrent features; to show the constructive force of training and environment and the destructive force of idleness and vulgarity. "A boy that leaves school and shifts for himself by blacking boots, selling papers, and 'swiping' fruit often appears much smarter than a boy of the same age who is going to school all the time and does not see so much of the world. A boy of twelve who has lived by his wits is often keener than a boy of the same age who has been well brought up at home and at school; but such a boy knows about as much and is as much of a man at twelve as he will ever be, while the boy that gets an education becomes more and more of a man as long as he lives."

"The claim is not made that these two families, with similar training and surroundings, would have had the same history. But the claim is made that without the education and environment which it had, the Edwards family could not have maintained its record, and that if the Jukes had been kept properly at school and church and work, the worst that is in their record would never have had to be written. Shiftlessness, ignorance and neglect, largely the failure of society to deal

with the situation, and perhaps to deal with one man, in a constructive way, have given to the world a family of 1,200 paupers and criminals; while a high original purpose, good surroundings and good education, have given to the world a family of 1,400 of the 'world's noblemen.'"

These facts but serve to intensify our conviction that Dr. Earp in the S. S. Journal for July, 1910, page 495, is correct when he says:

"In preventive salvation supreme emphasis must be placed upon the guarding of the sources of life. We discover in practical social work to-day that the environment sources are as important as to the hereditary if not more so. Some social workers with long experience in the field claim that environment is about nine-tenths of destiny. We know from actual facts in the treatment of orphans and neglected children that it is at least 85% of the battle for good citizenship. The modification of environment is one of the most important methods of social science to-day."

II

But how, where, and when, is the change to be made? We say in the home: First, in the selection of a companion for life, and secondly by co-operation. 'T is said "a house divided against itself cannot stand."

What do we imply when we speak of co-operation? First, the mother has her place and her influence is as far reaching as eternity itself. We have often wondered if the mother is as careful of her influence as she ought to be. One may ask, but why such a statement? Let me quote an answer:

"Parental love is a somewhat indefinable term. It seems to stand for something inherently true and natural; but it does not always exhibit itself in that way, or perhaps we should not have societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, which too frequently testify to the fact that intemperance and other vices often seem to destroy every vestige of true parental affection and some times turn fathers and even mothers into monsters of meanness and cruelty. An instance illustrative of the stupid brutality of a class of parents to be found in the tenement regions of this city (N. Y.) was recently related by a teacher in an East Side school who had found it necessary to report one of her boys to the principal as insubordinate. The boy was sent home with a note to his parents. A little uneasy lest the boy should be punished too severely, the teacher asked him if he would be flogged. "No," replied the lad, "they'll just turn me out, I guess." The teacher understood when the boy came to school the next day heavy with sleeplessness

and blue with cold. She learned that it was a common form of punishment among the parents in that quarter to turn a refractory child out into the streets for the night. Yet these are by no means the worst parents. The extreme cases coming to the attention of the Gerry Society, it is said, have to be excluded from the society's reports. Is it any wonder that many of the children cursed by these unnatural guardians, and never knowing anything of the love and care of a true father or mother, should grow up to be criminals and outcasts?"

We are glad that all parents are not like these, and mothers especially. Let me prove this by another illustration:

"In the market square of the little town of Wantage there is a beautiful marble statue of King Alfred with this striking inscription:

"Alfred the Great, The West Saxon King, born at Wantage, A. D. 849. Alfred found learning dead, and he revived it; the laws powerless, and he gave them force; the Church debased, and he raised it; the land ravaged by a fearful enemy, from which he delivered it. Alfred's name shall live as long as mankind shall respect the past.

"If it had not been for the faithfulness of Queen Judith to Alfred in his boyhood there might not have been anything in the life of King Alfred that succeeding generations would like to commemorate with a public monument. In molding his life she influenced the history of England for the better for a thousand years." (Rev. W. H. Hubbard, D. D.)

The mother, however, cannot do all—the father has his part to perform. First is, as we said awhile ago, there must be co-operation if the best results are to follow.

We would like to see a fathers' congress or conference held in all places where men could be gotten together. We would have them study with us the father's place in the home. We conceive him to be a leader, in fact the priest of the home, but, alas, so many do nothing for it excepting to earn the money with which to pay the bills.

The moral and spiritual training of the children is turned over to the mother who is already greatly over-burdened. The man who does this is making a serious mistake and often realizes it when it is too late. If, on the other hand, the father takes his place beside the mother and two work together, God will use them in training up their children in the way they should go. But we may ask, is there a need for co-operation? Yes, and that at once.

The statement is made by Dr. A. S. Draper in pamphlet No. 100 of the National Child Labor Committee in reference to conserving childhood. He says:

"With all of our national wastefulness, we are more profligate of childhood than any other factor in the nation's life. We are not only lax about requiring attendance upon the schools, but we have pretty nearly given over the control and direction of children who live at home and exist in the regular order. The common authority presumes too much upon the proper exercise of the authority of the parents. It does not take into account the number of parents who are so vicious or weak that they have no right to have children, or the number of unfortunate children who would be better off if they were orphans. And largely through a sentimentalism that is fully half bad the children in three-quarters of the better homes and in the schools are given their own sweet way to an extent which weakens their character for life."

Is Dr. Draper correct? If so then our position is well taken, hence we must insist upon parents doing more than they have done, and do better what they attempt to do, for we agree with Judge Lindsey in his pertinent statement: "That some parents know no more about the setting of a character than they do of setting broken bones."

You ask for the proof of such a statement? Why do we have to-day a Mother's Congress, Mother's Clubs or Parent Teachers' Association? Or why this Conference? Simply because many parents never stop to consider the relation of the physical to the moral and spiritual development of the child.

Thank God that things cannot go on as they have been for there is an agitation at hand.

The Philadelphia North American of June 2nd, 1910, said:

"In the University of Pennsylvania psychological clinic pioneer investigations have been carried on for fourteen years, as to the relation between the backward child and feeble-minded child. Dr. Lightner Witmer, director of the clinic, has done effective work in showing that the backward child is usually the victim of physical ailments, of defective sight or hearing, of adenoids or other conditions that prevent proper breathing, or vicious home surroundings, bad air, poor drainage, dearth of sunlight and of starvation.

"The little mind, stunted through these causes, neglected and discouraged, passes into a state of permanent incurable deficiency. Thus is another line of feeble-minded children established and a new tax laid on the over-burdened insane asylums.

"It does not require an expert to see that these three questions, the insane, the feeble-minded and the backward children, are all one question. And to these may be added that of delinquents. For so great an authority as Professor Johnstone says that all delinquents are defectives.

"This proposition can be more readily accepted when one sees the splendid work that is being done at the Glen Mills House of Refuge. Girls committed for delinquencies, that a few years ago, under the old system of repression, would have stamped them as chronic criminals, are being made into self-respecting and useful women, under the influence of outdoor work and play, inspiring surroundings and a chance to develop individual expression.

"When Theodore Roosevelt told the nation that the question of water power, forest preservation, waterways, soil protection and the saving of mineral wealth are all part of the one great policy of conservation, and that the only effective way to deal with each one was to deal with all in a comprehensive plan, the nation gasped and then wondered why it had n't seen the truth before.

"And so every question of delinquents, backward and defective children and of insane adults is part of a larger problem. The army of 17,000 indigent defectives who are now a charge on the state are a growing menace and an ominous warning.

"To meet it a new and bigger plan is needed. Each of these problems can no longer be considered as standing alone. The community must go back to first causes and fight these evils, not merely by curatives, but as far as possible by preventive measures.

"The policy of conservation must be applied to human nature."

III

Who is to do the applying? The parent, and no one has an opportunity equal to theirs. They have much to do with the future history of the church, state and nation. They have an opportunity to plant seed in fertile soil and no one can take their place. The person who stands next to them is the school teacher.

God gives the parent a chance when their offspring is in a plastic state. They cannot begin their work too soon nor can they be too persevering, patient and tactful. It is a work which requires the patience of Job, sweetness of John, zeal of Peter, and tact of Paul, and we might add the wisdom of Solomon.

The impressions of childhood are lasting and how early they may be made none of us know. We may approximate. We leave this part of our paper to be discussed by the psychologists.

The parent who delegates their authority and opportunity to another is doing wrong and injuring the child.

If we had our way we would keep the child in close touch with the parent and have them guard carefully the unfolding life and as it unfolds have them explain to it the mysteries of life and their relation one with another.

We have observed that the devil is a busy fellow, very persevering, and begins his work on the child at the dawn of consciousness, hence we would urge all parents to be as alert, resourceful and persevering as the child stealer, for he is a thief and a liar as well. Yea, we would have them surpass him in faith and love.

One, however, may ask what would you especially have the parent do or teach? It is impossible to tell all, but some of the things we would have them teach are:

(a) Be careful of their own example, for it is as Emerson put it: "You speak so loud by what you are that I cannot hear what you say." Precepts are all right but they are often nullified by example.

(b) We would have them teach the child to seek the guidance and help of God in directing their thoughts, words and deeds.

(c) We would have them to be guarded as to the selection of their companions, "for a little leaven leaveth the whole lump."

(d) Also emphasize the sin of profanity, gambling and Sabbath desecration.

(e) And then teach them the beauty and usefulness of a life of purity and service for God and man.

(f) Yea, we would have them lead the children to an early dedication of themselves to Jehovah.

IV

What of the outcome? The children of the future will be happier, healthier and better than those of the past, and that means less delinquency and defectives. It means less trouble for parents, school teachers and directors, more boys and girls in our Sunday Schools and churches and less inmates in our Detention Homes and penal institutions. It is to be devoutly prayed that this happy day may soon dawn.

We do not claim that the practicing of our suggestion will solve all the problems of childhood as it will not, but we claim that it will help materially in relieving very much of the distressing conditions which face us to-day.

If the parents and young people of to-day will follow such teaching we are sure Jesus will smile upon them for He has said: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of one of these ye have done it unto Me."

V

But why all of this painstaking care, for the statements made imply that there is such a thing as defectives and delinquents. But is this true?

(a) The World's S. S. Convention held at Washington, D. C., in May (1910) adopted a resolution which we heartily indorse for it has much to do with the morals of the country, home and individuals, that is: "a stricter observance of the Lord's Day by all men and women professing the Christian faith and that all families coming under the influence of the Sunday Schools be urged to continue daily family worship, chiefly for the potent influence it works in the child's mind."

This resolution was adopted by a body of men and women representing 24 countries, 47 denominations, with attendance of 175 missionaries.

This is a world wide view of the necessity of proper childhood instruction, therefore it ought to come to us with double force.

But why did they adopt such a resolution? Perhaps the statement made by one of the speakers had something to do with it, for he said that 75% of the boys 13 years of age and older who attend Protestant Sunday Schools in the United States are lost to the church and are not led to a profession of faith by their Sunday School training.

An English delegate said that was the most startling statement that he had heard since coming to America, and that in their country they did not lose more than 5% of their boys.

This statement must have been accepted as a fact or else the resolution would not have been adopted.

(b) At a meeting of the Charities and Correction Conference held in St Louis, Mo., in May, 1910, Judge Baker of the Boston Juvenile Court presided over the probation meeting and was chosen president for the ensuing year. Judge DeLacy of the Washington, D. C., Juvenile Court, Judge McMasters of the Salt Lake Juvenile Court, Judge Addams of the Cleveland Court and other prominent judges were present and took part in the meetings. It was the consensus of opinion "that parents are responsible for a large majority of all cases of juvenile delinquency."

If any of us are skeptical as to the truth of their statement, then get a position as a probation officer, or visit the courts and we will be astonished at the revelations which will come to us.

(c) Again—if there be no cause for alarm as to delinquency or dependent children why the conference called by President Roosevelt in the January preceding his retirement

as our chief executive? And why the great societies throughout our land whose sole purpose it is to deal with childhood? And why are consecrated men and women like Judge Lindsey, Dr. Hastings Hart, Jane Addams, Mrs. Frederic Schoff and others equally as eminent, cultured and useful, giving all of their time and thought to save the childhood of the nation.

(d) And why is the following record true? It is my impression that the following facts were in the North American Review from the pen of Miss Ida L. Harper. The date of the Review I do not recall. She said:

"We have 90 or possibly more Reform Schools in the United States, and in them 25 to 30 thousand children. It costs \$3,831,034 to maintain them. The property is valued at \$17,504,444. In 1900, 12,750 children were committed to these schools. These figures cover only those who are placed in the schools for a number of years, and do not include the uncounted thousands who are daily sentenced for a short period to the hundreds of institutions which have been established for the purpose in the various cities, nor those other countless thousands at large upon the streets who ought to be put under wholesome restraint. The most trustworthy investigations of various commissions have resulted in the statement that crime among children is increasing out of all proportion to the increase of population. In 1899 Chicago established a Juvenile Court to try children's cases and in the first year 2,378 were brought before it, in the following ten months the total number had increased to 4,200."

(e) New York has established a similar court and in two months 1,089 children were up for trial.

(f) The Philadelphia Court records show that they had 1,793 cases from June 14th, 1901, to Nov. 1st, 1902; 1,644 cases from May 1st, 1904, to May 1st, 1905; 1,462 cases from Jan. 1, 1906, to Jan. 1, 1907.; 1,468 cases from Jan. 1, 1908, to Jan. 1, 1909.

(g) Amos J. Given, of Stamford, Conn., read a paper, March 3rd, 1910, before the Connecticut State Conference of Charities and Corrections.

In it he claims that insanity is on the increase in the United States and the largest increase is not among our native born but of the foreign born. We may ask the cause and this is hard to answer. It may be and doubtless is due to degeneracy to some extent as well as concentration of population. The mental, moral and physical are materially affected by our environments.

He says that hereditary predisposition, alcoholic excesses, and influenza poisoning, causes it in Great Britain and he quotes an eminent alienist as saying: "Syphilis in con-

junction with the free use of alcohol he attributes 70 to 80% of the cases of general paralysis coming under his observation.

Another English alienist says if only the evils of alcohol and venereal diseases were disposed of then half of the problem of insanity would disappear with them.

He also stated that additional causes are found both in our own and other countries in sudden changes in environment, trauma, fevers and infective processes, the excessive use of drugs, especially morphine and cocaine, sexual excesses, overwork, malnutrition, the suppression of the normal functioning of the generative system, conditions incident to puberty and the menopause, to pregnancy and more especially to the puerpium.

Much emphasis must be laid upon the emotional factors, heightened by the concentration of population, with the numerous stresses incident to progressive civilization of its limitless demands upon the highest organized structures of the human body. To heredity 60% to 70% of the cases of insanity are attributed, while alcoholism is given second place."

Statements such as these are worthy of the most careful thought on the part of those who are the leaders of thought and teachers of morals.

It is for us to investigate and learn of the causes which are working against the development of all the parts of man and then seek to change them.

We need wisdom and must be painstaking. Yea, we must be alert and resourceful, for while we sleep an enemy may come in and sow tares among the wheat.

We have before us certain facts which ought to lead to certain conclusions and definite results. They are such as to convince any fair minded person of the necessity of an aggressive movement looking toward the better protection of childhood, and this will come about when we educate and christianize the parents of to-day and to-morrow.

VI.

Do the facts as stated indicate there is any delinquency and defectives? If these are true and they are, for they are court records, then our position is a correct one that some one is responsible, and inasmuch as the home is a vital factor in shaping the destinies of a nation let us seek to arouse the parents and cause them to feel the importance of their task, for we agree with the editor of the Ladies Home Journal in his editorial of May, 1907:

"We talk much about the need of child-training. What we need far more is parent-training. The average child grows

up in spite of its training, not by reason of it. The wonder is why God, in His infinite wisdom, allows many a man and woman to become parents. The worst victims of our modern complicated style of living are the children, and upon them our drifting away from sane and simple ideas falls the hardest. We love our children, yes; but love for a child while all-important, is not all-sufficient. We need something more: common-sense, judgment, the time to think, the effacement of self and selfish ideas. We fail to understand that self-satisfaction, born of our pride in a child, is not half so important as the realization of what is good and best for the child, whether or not our own notions and self-desires are satisfied and fulfilled. A child should train us; it should develop our characters; it should sweeten our natures; it should simplify our lives; then we are fitted to train it, but only after its simpler nature has first trained us. No child-training is worth the snap of a finger that does not come from the child to the parent, and then applied to the child's needs and problems with parental love and riper experience. If we knew our children better than we do, if we studied individually their simple natures with keener eye, we could learn more from them than from all the writers and lecturers on child-training in the universe."

Our conviction then is a deep seated one and only formed after carefully considering the facts, and born of experience in the work. Therefore let us accept the statement of the Bishop of London who recently visited our shores. He said:

"I am now convinced that the uplifting of the morality of our people lies, above all and everything else, in educating the children, rationally and morally. I believe that more evil has been done by the squeamishness of parents who are afraid to instruct their children in the vital facts of life, than by all the other agencies of vice put together. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that the right way has been found at last. Thousands of men have asked me why they were not taught the danger of vice in their youth, and I have had no reply to make to them. I intend now, with God's help, to remove this reproach from our land."

If this is our decision, then we are prepared to go with Prof. Wm. A. McKeever, of the Kansas State Agricultural College, in his pamphlet No. 5, called "A Better Crop of Boys and Girls." He says:

"It seems to me that we must come round to the thesis that the real wealth of any nation or of any people consists not in the moneys or the material goods accumulated so much as in the character of the boys and girls and young men and young women who are growing up and soon to assume control of all

the serious affairs of life. We must erect a new standard of worth, and this new measure of value must be men and women — strong, courageous, clear-sighted, noble-hearted men; and pure, matronly, sympathetic, spiritually-minded women. Let us promote the foregoing high standard of excellence through definitely planned popular education, seeking first to develop in the young the splendid God-given aptitudes latent within them and as yet unreached by our system of training; and secured, to give the fit an advantage over the unfit as factors in the continuation of the race."

Our position is, let this popular education begin in the home and let father and mother be the teachers. It will help the child and the parents and the coming generations will have better parents to train them than the present have had.

What is our duty? Let me sum it up in a poem:

"THE LAMBS OF THE FLOCK

By MRS. M. C. HAYWARD

"Tenderly care for the lambs of the flock,
Gather them into the fold;
None are too young for a blessing as sweet
As was given the children of old.
'Feed my lambs' is our Saviour's command
'T is a sacred charge He has given;
And He said, 'Let the little ones come unto Me,
For of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.'
Then faithfully watch o'er the lambs of the flock;
There is much to lead them astray;
And the people of God in the future, must be
The children we 're training to-day.
Then help and encourage the lambs of the flock;
With sympathy tender and true;
Be patient, though often they stumble and fall,
For God has been patient with you."

STORIES OF CHILDREN AND BIRDS

By PROF. C. F. HODGE

In that sweetest of all songs, "Home Sweet Home," among the memories that cling to the wanderer's life are those of "The birds singing gaily that came at my call; Give me these, and peace of mind dearer than all." As indicating the more instinctive and deeper relations between child life and bird life this passage has always seemed to me to carry a profound significance. How many of us possess these memories? Among our 20,000,000 homes how many are there around which the birds sing blithely and come at the children's call? What kind of a country would we have; what kind of homes; what kind of children if this were really, livingly true of all of them? It has long been a dream of mine, perhaps the dearest dream in my whole galaxy of dreams, to have this true of every home and of every child in our beloved country. Truly this relation to its bird life will add the liveliest charm and the one which will cling most lovingly among childhood's memories; and why may not every home possess this charm? A charm literally from the skies.

From the heart flow the issues of life, and in our eager search for the vital in education true heart culture is beginning to come to its own. Here is a field of purest heart culture, in which every home, every child, and every school, even, may find infinite stimulus for life and growth and perfect delight.

I shall show you a few pictures which tell stories of children and birds. You must bear in mind, however, that a picture represents only the fraction of a second, and that the big fishes are always the ones that get away. This is even more true of the best pictures; and so you must read between those I shall show thousands of other pictures, brighter and finer ones, that my camera has never caught.

This first slide shows a young robin which has come to our breakfast table this morning. There are two others that usually join us at meals and ask to be fed. And here in the next slide we see four butterflies feeding on drops of honey on the tips of the fingers. In seeking a universal motive which shall carry this relation to the heart of every child I find this ancient, deep motive of taming things, feeding things, and if it is only eating salt together, it brings a

fusion, truly magical, of sympathy and life which can never leave the heart quite as cold and barren as it was before.

Then let our first story be the simple one of taming the robins about a home. You see before you my first wild bird photograph—a cock robin induced to come within range of my camera by the bribe of a mealworm, which you see in his bill. I often say that the first thing a child should learn about taming birds is how to raise mealworms. Robins are supposed to subsist chiefly upon angleworms and cherries, but just let one catch the twinkle of a mealworm, and you have him at your feet. This same bird gave me a characteristic robin judgment of the comparative value of mealworms and earthworms. He had come up for his usual dinner of mealworms and I threw him an angleworm instead. He looked at it, but did not deign to touch it, and hopped a little closer. I dropped another earthworm under his bill. He disregarded it and hopped closer still. I dropped a third earthworm under his bill. He looked at it closely and then at me, as much as to say "I can get all those I want." He then picked it up in his bill and, with a vicious twitch of the head, threw it away as far as he could. That was decisive enough and I fed him a crop-full of mealworms, which he ate greedily enough.

All good cock robins have mates and the mates have an absorbing passion in the spring to build nests. A certain little boy, then about six years old, insisted that we must have a dish of mud for the robins to use in building their nests. The idea is an excellent one and here you see the mate of our robin digging a bill-full of mud for her nest. Olive Thorne Miller tells of seeing a robin dip herself in water and then wallow in the dust of the street, after which she flew to her nest and picked the mud from her feathers. Our robin does not carry the mud farther than necessary, and so we see the nest she built in the cherry tree just back of the house. The blue eggs have already hatched into—mostly—big yellow mouths. Some one has estimated that if a man were to eat in proportion to his size as much as a young robin at this stage he would consume a Bologna sausage three inches in diameter and sixty feet in length, daily. Ten days later, as we see, the nest is running over full, four young robins almost ready to fly. The rapidity and vigor of growth is wonderful in birds. It must be related in some direct way to the size of the mouths we saw a moment ago.

One of the little fellows we saw in the nest in his first aerial voyage lands in the tub of ice water under the refrigerator drip and is rescued by one of the children stiff with cold and

almost dead. He is warmed back to life and fed and becomes the household pet for the summer. A call "come Bobbie"—if he is hungry—will bring him from the tree-tops to the hand as you see him there—fulfilling Shelley's prophecy—

"No longer now the winged inhabitants,
That in the woods their sweet lives sing away,
Flee from the form of man; but gather round,
And prune their sunny feathers on the hands
Which little children stretch in friendly sport
Toward these dreadless partners of their play.
All things are void of terror: man has lost
His desolating privilege, and stands
An equal amidst equals: happiness
And science dawn though late upon the earth."

A favorite perch is the hammock rope, where, as you see him, he sits and dozes of a summer afternoon; and with closed bill he conns over in just audible whispers, but deliciously sweet, the spring songs of his kind.

This is really a continued story and four years long. There are many nests and scores of tame fledglings, and by the fourth season our cock robin is feeding freely from the children's hands, as you see him on the window sill.

Any home may have as many tame robins about it as the children may wish, and a cheerier, finer bird does not exist on the face of the earth.

Harbinger of spring whose flute notes fall like violet petals of sky-blue music, our bluebird ought to take its place like its English cousin, robin-red-breast, at our window-sills and hearth rugs; and few realize how quickly it will come, if invited.

It is a cold morning toward the last of March and a first bluebird is seen at the bird fountain as he comes to drink. I raise the window a crack and snap a mealworm to the driveway, when two bluebirds drop down and apparently scrap for it. I snap another and another as fast as I can and the famishing creatures apparently fight for each one. Finally their appetites are somewhat appeased and they fly to the lower branches of the cherry tree. I snap another worm, the male drops down for it and carrying it up to his mate offers it to her with a pretty twinkle of one wing. She takes it and swallows it, and he brings her four or five more. The last one he brings her she bends her head very low and touches it with her bill but turns her head away, as much as to say: "They are simply delicious, but I cannot hold another one," and so he swallows it himself. Then they drift away among the tree tops, leaving me to wonder whether I have seen the last of my newly formed acquaintances. In

about an hour, however, the flute notes in the cherry tree announce that they expect another providential shower of mealworms, and, of course, they are not disappointed. If it were not for the fact that my ideas come in on the freight the morning after, I am sure that I might have shown you a pair of wild bluebirds feeding on my study windowsill within the first hour of making their acquaintance. As it happened, here they are the morning after, and that remains their dining table for the weeks of early spring and until the insects in the garden become a drug in the bluebird market. A few days after, as I came home, I was greeted with—"You can't guess what happened this morning. Bluet sat on my finger and ate the worms from my hand." And there she is, and it often happened of a chilly morning that she lingered on the warm finger to warm her little toes.

I placed a bird-house in the cherry tree close to the study window in the hopes that Bluet might build her nest in it and so give us the whole story of their home life. There were scores of nests near by and the pair took days to flirt with each one of them, but finally Bluet decided on just the one I wanted her to accept, and she carried in pine needles and pine needles, nearly half a peck of them and then laid her five blue eggs. Her incubating was a trial to all of our human patiences. She really did not appear to allow her maternal duties to cross her mind during the day time. She was always flitting about the garden, sunning her feathers, picking up insects, as though she did not have a care or a duty in the world—and there were those five blue eggs, that I wanted so much to hatch. I used to say to her very often as she came for mealworms or flitted down to see me in the garden—"Bluet, you fool bluebird you, you little old jingle-top you, you know that not one of those eggs will hatch, if you do not attend to your housekeeping better than this." But it didn't do any good, she just flirted around all day long and let the nest take care of itself. Well, the day came for them to hatch—the twelfth day since the last egg was laid—and I looked into the nest as I went to my nine o'clock lecture. I turned away, saying to myself—"No signs of hatching, Oh no, you little wretch, those eggs will never hatch." "You are too blooming lazy and jingletoptious to ever hatch any eggs." But, without a spark of hope, I did look into the nest again as I came home two hours later, and there, sure enough were five fuzzy little creatures all clean and dry and fast asleep. Not a speck of dirt or a fragment of shell remained in the nest, and I may possibly be acquitted of nature faking if I do say that I felt cheap and that I felt that I ought to be able to detect just a twinkle

of mischievous triumph in Bluet's eyes, when she saw my surprise. I am not saying, however, that I did.

There was no loafing with those five mouths to fill. The seventeenth day after hatching you see the five well-grown and fledged and ready to fly, which they did soon after this picture was taken.

The beauty of these bird stories is that, once started, they continue to sing their way along. The cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches compelled my attention for the next few weeks; but the children had seen the bluebirds flitting down and picking up insects in the garden all the spring and nothing would do but they must have a pair of bluebirds and a bluebird home in their own garden. They find an old stick in the lumber pile and toggle a broken bird-house to the end of it with a mass of crippled nails, dig a shallow hole and stand the thing up in the middle of their garden. On coming home, seeing it there leaning all awry, I laid hold of it with the intention of carrying it back to the wood pile, when a bluebird flew out. Examination revealed four blue eggs of the second brood. The children spent a good deal of their time looking into the nest, but (we think it was the same pair) the birds didn't seem to mind and, at any rate, here are those same four blue eggs a little later.

How these bluebirds happen to be in the shoe-box, as you see them is another story.

The seventeenth day after they hatched proved to be unlucky for young bluebirds, perhaps, but lucky for me. There was a cold driving rain. As I started out for the morning mail I heard a young bluebird complaining loudly about the weather in the cherry tree over the path. I stopped and looked up at him from under my umbrella, when a wonderful thing happened. The bedraggled little chap fluttered down and with apparent deliberation lighted in the hollow of my elbow. I merely turned about and carried him back into the house, stuffed him with mealworms, which he ate ravenously, and left him in the shoebox by the warm kitchen stove. On my return an hour or so later I found two young bluebirds in my day nursery and thinking this pretty rapid multiplication, I learned that the second little voyager to leave the nest had flown against the dining room window and had not knocked in vain. The other two were out in the house which you saw in the garden, all but their wet little heads which were sticking out of the door crying loudly for food. I had not seen and did not see a parent bird about the nest the entire day. It was simply impossible to pick up insects in such a driving rain.

Toward noon I took a pail of mealworms and stepladder down into the garden and climbing up under my umbrella dangled the worms in the door in an attempt to feed the famishing youngsters. But they scuttled back and hid and giving up, I climbed down and had gone half way up to the house when an idea struck me at approximately the right time and I turned and gave the bluebird whistle. Instantly the heads appeared at the door, and with their mouths so wide open that they could not see me. So I kept whistling and climbing up the stepladder again; I whistled and stuffed for dear life. I repeated this operation about once an hour for the rest of the day and at the last feeding at night—for fear the cats would get them early in the morning—I tolled them out on my other hand and put them snug with their mates by the kitchen stove. Early next morning I saw the female bluebird at the nest and tried to return her brood, but she disappeared over the tree tops and was not seen again. So we kept the fledglings and here you see them “fast asleep” and here “wide awake” (their mouths all open). When they got to feeding themselves well, we let them go and they were last seen that day regaling themselves among the branches of a big black cherry tree. Next morning, however, they were trying every window and calling loudly for another breakfast of mealworms, and you may be sure they did not call in vain. Here you see them as the children fed and cared for them. They remained with us through September and into October. A whistle would bring them down to the hand from the tree tops half a block away as you see them here on my hand.

You note only three in this picture. One is gone, and the only tragedy in this beautiful bluebird summer occurred in this wise. I was trying all sorts of feeding tests with these young birds, bringing in insects of many kinds and noting what species and how many the birds would eat. One day I had a lot of potato beetles, the little fellows flew to my hands as usual, fluttered their wings and opened their mouths, and I dropped a big grub into an open mouth. I noticed that the bird gagged but did not throw out the objectionable morsel, and, being more careful on account of the evident distress one had caused, I placed the supply where the rest could help themselves, if they wished. Each of the three others picked up a specimen, but rejected it promptly and wiped the bill in evident disgust. Next morning one of the birds was dead under the perch.

In October the bluebirds left us for two weeks, when finally my whistle was again answered and all three flew down and perched a few minutes on my hand. They had nearly com-

pleted the moult which had given them their first adult plumage, and, for the first time, they paid no attention to the mealworms in my hand. They had probably changed their diet in the interval, and still they came down for old acquaintance sake—to say goodbye before starting on their journey southward.

The next spring, when the bluebirds came back, I tried the whistle daily again for a time in the hope that they might come back and remember me, but there was no response. However, one April morning of the spring following, one of my class, who lived eight miles south of Worcester, told me that as he stepped out of the house that morning a most remarkable thing happened. "A bluebird deliberately flew to me and alighted on my hand and would not go away. I carried it into the house and fed it some bread, and it ate it as if it were starving." Possibly this was one of our bluebirds driven to the old habit by extremity of hunger. I only wish all our bluebirds would come to our hands thus as often as they need our help.

Since that year we have had other families of bluebirds as tame, but they do not seem to be the same birds from year to year, as in case of the old cock robin which came to us four years in succession. Still they are so easily tamed that this makes little difference and our experiment shows that we could easily and quickly have this beautiful bird at home on our window sills and hearth rugs, if enough people in a community would unite in the effort to invite them. And certainly few birds could do better service in the gardens of our children; and none distill a sweeter "charm from the skies" about our homes.

The simple little story which you have seen and heard in part has inspired a poem which may do its part in bringing our bluebirds and our children together. (*Twinklewing and Bluet* in Ella Gilbert Ives's *Outdoor Music*, p. 17.)

Humming birds are, at once, the easiest of birds to tame and the most exquisite of bird friends. A few drops of honey and fifteen minutes will often suffice to have one following you about the garden and perching on your hands, as you see in these pictures. To load the horn of a nasturtium with honey and have the humming birds come and fan you is the acme of summer luxury—as you see in this picture.

It is safe to say that all young birds are practically tame and will remain so until they experience some rough treatment to make them wild, or learn by imitation from their parents. And many of the birds of our door yards are much tamer than we realize. Here is a family of young orioles, not quite able to fly, which have been picked up and fed a few times.

They follow their little benefactress about the garden, coming at call when hungry. Both the parent birds and the children are feeding them. This slide shows you three young least flycatchers, chebecs. They have just tried their wings and not quite able to fly, have been picked up from the lawn. The child is holding them perched freely on her hands while both parent birds bring and feed them insects. In a day or two they will be able to take care of themselves, but may remain more friendly for life on account of this day's experience.

Thus, as our pictures show, our bird life is plastic. We can have the birds about our homes coming at the call of our children and singing on their hands, if we only become civilized enough to lead them into this delightful field.

An interesting and important feature of our bird life is that of our game birds. Many of our best species have been exterminated from large sections of the country—our wild turkey, wild geese and many species of water fowl, the prairie chicken, bobwhite and, perhaps, the saddest of all, the passenger pigeon. This bird, often called the finest race of pigeons the world has seen, existed a century ago in numbers to constitute one of the wonders of the world. Now an award of \$1,000 for the location of an undisturbed nesting of the species has stood for half a year and no one has claimed it. Even the Indians are cursing us for the extermination of what they call the fairest flower of life on the American continent. If it be really true that we are just now "in at the death" of the passenger pigeon, it is certainly the most pitiful case of the extinction of an American species on record. If we do find some small remnant, and all the children in America join in the effort to save and restore the species, and they succeed, it will be one of the finest achievements in the history of American natural history.

Restore every valuable American species of game bird to its native range and keep those of them that we can in such abundance as their natural foods and habitats will allow. So let us have our white swans back again in our water courses, just to see and enjoy them as they live wild and free. Let us do the same for the wild geese and for all manner of waterfowl, our wild turkey, prairie chicken, ruffed grouse and last but not best of all for the bobwhite. I hope to live to see a goodly covey of ruffed grouse, at home and properly protected and appreciated, in Elm Park and Newton Hill, in Hadwen Park and in the Hadwen Arboretum. And I also hope to live to see the bobwhite living as thick as English sparrows do now about all the parks and orchards and door-yards and children's gardens in Worcester.

We ought to adopt the plan for all America to make the limits of all towns and cities absolute sanctuary for valuable game birds and animals. This plan would keep them where all could learn their ways and enjoy them, and the surplus would fill the covers for the sportsmen from year to year. And never again would a valuable American species be in danger of extinction.

There will be no difficulty in taming many of these species, as the pictures have shown you. I have myself had a flock of nearly fifty bobwhites fly home to me at my whistle, and we may yet have partridge-cocks drumming on our knees.

SCHOOL GARDENS

By M. LOUISE GREENE, Ph. D.

To prepare for such an audience a paper that shall be a worthy substitute for the one which your committee had planned to give you from the sage of agriculture is indeed a serious problem. From the vast acreage of his knowledge, Dean Bailey was asked to present a paper upon Children's Gardens. I, from my small field, shall but touch upon one division of the subject as I strive to spread the gospel of school gardening. Most of you, I think, have already accepted it. Many of you are familiar with one or more of its texts or varied embodiments.

We all agree that visual expression accompanying verbal description creates a more lively and lasting impression, and I had looked forward to having so able an exponent of school gardens as Mr. Starr Cadwallader, of Cleveland, follow me this evening with a set of slides illustrating the widely varied work that is done in that city. Cleveland continues this work by the co-operation of its board of education, acting through its appointed curator of school gardens, with the Home Gardening Association of the city which was the first to create there a general interest in gardening.

Cleveland was the first to establish the precedent for the adoption into the public school system of the school garden; to set also a high standard of achievement and to show what varied requirements these gardens could fulfill. She still holds the record for excellence past and present but other cities, east and west, press into the front ranks and crowd the honor list so that, now, we should no longer apply to any one locality or garden the superlative best. "Among the best," or, possibly, "the best of its class" would be the fairer judgment. For how is it possible to single out as best the excellent work in a school garden 25 x 100 ft., holding the interest and vitalizing the classroom work of some two or three hundred children of one or two grades, coming from crowded tenements, or to compare it with a school garden of two and a half acres, having also a large greenhouse and an aquatic garden where for the same number of children the work is carefully correlated with that of the schoolroom throughout all the grades. Or with still other gardens and other groups of from one hundred and fifty

to three hundred boys and girls who possess land that must range from three or five to ten acres in extent and where a distant agricultural or economic bent is given to the garden instruction? Elsewhere, it may be directed from a narrow viewpoint that regards the sole purpose of the school garden as an opportunity to grow a few plants that shall aid in teaching some other study as for instance commercial geography very much as reading and writing and figures are instruments in teaching history or English. Yet again, the principal reasons for establishing school gardens may be æsthetic, therapeutic, civic or philanthropic as for the general welfare of childhood. Under the latter head, the school garden may be limited in its scope to a garden spot for the safe gathering of children where the simplest instruction in the growing of a few plants is given or it may broaden to include many of the activities of a garden school or of a social settlement, planned for children.

In the majority of cases, neither the therapeutic nor economic value of the school garden is kept in evidence. This is not so, of course, where they are connected with hospitals, day-camps, homes for the crippled or incurable or where the feeble-minded are the workers. Nor is it true in the large school gardens of some of the western states where there is a systematic development of theoretical and practical teaching followed in the highest grades and in the agricultural high and normal schools by technical instruction for which the garden is the laboratory. The work of the children is directed to awaken interest in rural life, to lighten toil and bring success in the home garden and on the farm, to increase the agricultural wealth of the locality, to make the farmer's boy or girl feel their importance to the welfare of their country, and their ability as adults to share, quite as much as the average city people, in the comfort, leisure and wealth of life if they but learn to make head save hands and feet, to harness brain and muscle.

Whatever the reasons for establishing gardens, whether strictly specialized or overlapping, those that predominate determine the size and plan of the garden; the character of the planting both by and for the children; and modify the yearly or daily programme.

School gardens, then, are regarded as educational either in the narrow meaning as an aid to school life or in the broad cultural sense as one of the most fruitful agencies for the development of the whole child nature, body, mind and heart; motor, sensory, rational and volitional, with distinct stress upon the moral and ethical value. Thus understood, instruction in the school garden aims to create habits of thought and work

that shall be serviceable throughout life, while at the same time teaching practically and effectively, though in a limited way, a form of labor by which, if need be, one can earn one's living. Moreover, it frequently directs children having tastes that may be usefully developed to other occupations than that of the cultivation of the soil with its varied fields of work. This is the educator's and the adult thinker's viewpoint.

To the children, the school garden is first of all a place to own, individually or in common, a bit of land on which to learn to make things grow. It is a joyous place where they are most like adult workmen; where, like their elders, they inherit or rent their farms; where labor brings quick and tangible results; where there is all the joy of social equality and of individual proprietorship and where there is room for æsthetic enjoyment and altruistic sharing of work and pleasure if the spirit moves. Here are many motives that attract a child to the garden the first day and that hold his interest throughout the season. Here are many through which to open to him new lines of thought; many about which to build continually, modifying sometimes the old way of looking at things; introducing new ones; strengthening some of the old, substituting for others; softening manners, firming virtues, eradicating faults, creating ideals as the likeness of life and labor in the world of plants and in his own little daily round of living comes home to the child, as often as possible, let it be as facts of his own discovery.

Hence from the standpoint of both the adult and the child we may derive a definition of the school garden. It should be comprehensive enough to set aside questions of size or place or special purpose and it should be clear and concise. A school garden, then, is any garden where children of school age are taught to grow plants in such a way that they are at the same time taught how to live,—how to get on in the world. It is a definition that with slight expansion leaves no room for misinterpretation and that has a multiple power of appeal. It may be accepted in the small sense of teaching a child to be more efficient and more skillful in getting ahead of his less capable neighbor or it may be taken in the large sense of developing a finer human being, more useful and helpful to society, better able to get the most out of life and make the best of it through knowledge of the "noble art of living."

Man or child is master of environment only in so far as he knows how to rise above it or to wield its elements into serviceable chains of cause and effect that shall hold him to a definite purpose in life and serve him to that end. His welfare is determined by his choice of aim and power to attain it. Knowl-

edge comes but wisdom lingers, sing poet and philosopher, but the matter of fact man knows that there is nothing better than hard experience to transform one into the other or to make the latter hurry along in time to be advantageous to him. How gain experience early, safely, speedily, surely? Where else in the child's world than in the garden are cause and effect so simply, intimately and quickly related and in such multiform ways? Where else can he so frequently see them in their entirety and without the confusion of crossed issues and deferred action that so often accompany them in the world at large? In the garden, time and spatial relations have less play. The child sees and remembers the different links in the chain of events. All the principles, laws or forces which he must learn to know are either within his comprehension in their activity or are embodied in stubborn facts which he must in some way conquer. It is a world wherein he comprehends that he has a fair field and that success, at least ninety-nine times out of a hundred, depends upon his own exertion. It is a world where rewards are quick and sure and punishment almost equally speedy; where whatever brings visible failure is apt to bring not only nature's own forceful comment with the home-thrust knowledge that it is but one's own deserts but also the un pitying comments of fellow workmen. On the other hand, success brings public approval and the methods by which it was obtained become a part of life's capital. Children thus gain a discernment of values and also habits of thought and work which are more readily acquired through pleasurable activity of one's own choosing and for one's own advantage. The definition, thus expanded, suggests how potent and far reaching may be the happy hour in the garden, the period of light and enjoyable work, the brief instruction as the steady onward development of the garden life is explained, and as the children come to appreciate that success in anything depends upon intelligent forethought and careful, continuous, patient effort.

Let us pass from the consideration of the aims and purpose of school gardens to their practical working with different classes of children and let us consider first those that are physically or mentally handicapped.

The small school garden in connection with Bellevue Hospital, New York, may be taken as an example of gardens in connection with hospitals, day-camps or homes for crippled or incurable children.

Until last year, some fifty tubercular children gathered daily on the boat moored at the hospital wharf. Under the charge of several nurses they were given the freedom of the decks. Thus, they exchanged the confinement, bad air and

inactivity of hot, close rooms or hot dangerous streets for the limited freedom to run about, pure air, sunshine and a large degree of coolness. This was a welcome improvement yet the long days were monotonous and the glaring sunlight was reflected back from the hard trodden hospital yard and its unsightly ash heap. Last year, a small square near the dump and close to the gangway of the boat was neatly fenced off and a simple lattice work for vines concealed the ash pile. Within the square was a central bed with some bright flowers while a few were scattered in the borders that surrounded the little 4 x 8 ft. vegetable patches, where, under an experienced school gardener, the children raised radish, lettuce, carrots, onions, beets, beans and even a few stalks of corn. They were limited to about half an hour or less continuous work. They were free to roam among their little farms or to sit watching some favorite bit of growth. The days ceased to be so long and weary. There were things to do, to see, to talk about and to speculate upon. Where possessions were few or almost unknown, there were now treasures of beauty or of relish to count upon taking home. The garden lessons were of the shortest and simplest. The flowers were of the brightest and hardiest growth and the vegetables were the easiest to care for. These conditions must prevail wherever school gardens are for very little children or for those whose powers are small.

This garden at Bellevue was planned after the large school farm at DeWitt Clinton Park, New York City, where, however, there are a large number of plots in which grains, grasses, vegetables and flowers are grown for observation and some for community work. At DeWitt, crippled children from city institutions are brought in vans that they may have, as in other cities, a chance to farm. Some few may be able only to look on while they direct an able-bodied child to care for their plot and gather the harvest for them. Others with crutch temporarily laid aside, lie curled about their tiny plots and take nearly the whole care of them, while some have been known to pool their strength. Two children once discovered that three legs and three arms between them sufficed for a working partnership almost as well as the normal four.

These two classes, the crippled and the tubercular, receive great benefit from the open air life with its pleasures. The tubercular frequently recover in part or wholly, while cross-grained or morose crippled children often improve in temper and disposition when given pleasant occupation and a taste of responsibility. An interest in bird life, in insects, and in the microscope has brought remunerative work in several known cases and opened a life occupation.

Here one might mention also the help that the school garden has been to anæmic children and those having a tendency to nervous troubles. One child confided to her teacher that she had not had St. Vitus dance the two summers she had worked in the school garden. In some hundred letters that were sent by parents to urge the continuing of the school gardens in a certain large city, I was impressed by the emphasis laid upon the improvement in the children's health in these two particulars. (In the same letters, again and again, attention was called to the boy's contentment in caring for his garden plot and its offshoot, his home garden, as contrasted with his restlessness and running about the streets in previous years.)

School gardens for the feeble-minded are growing in favor in connection with institutions for such children, with their schools in the cities that segregate them and for special classes for them in the gardens that at other hours are intended for normal children. Garden work and instruction can be so easily graded to the varying intelligence and fitful moods of the feeble-minded. It offers in some places almost daily prizes of flowers or vegetables for their luncheon hour. The work tends to develop the power of concentration and to increase through use all their physical and mental strength. It prepares some of them to earn their living, so strong often is the compensating love of flowers and the possibility of training them in an imitative or mechanical way to certain tasks. I should like to read part of a letter from one who has worked with, and watched over, these children for a number of years in school gardening.

My dear Miss Greene:

I wish I could put into words all that I know about the benefits of school garden work to defective children. The special teachers are unanimous in their verdict that this active work in the open air with live, interesting material is the most stimulating mentally, morally and physically of any work in the school. The garden is not only stimulating but cumulative in its interest from the time the soil is turned in the spring, planting of the seed, cultivating of the soil to the harvesting of the crop. The children can see the results of their labors. A poorly prepared paper may be consigned to the waste basket but a poorly planted garden is a proposition to be faced all summer.

I went to the Kinsman School yesterday. The children from the strongest to the weakest worked extremely well. Their teacher said "There is nothing to which they give such concentrated attention." You remember Robert? Last year it was impossible to keep his attention for a very long time. Yesterday, he went to his garden, 6 x 12 ft., and made an earth mulch with his cultivating stick, took out the weeds and did it well. He came to me in another part of the garden took my hand and led me to his garden to see how well he had done.

Orville, who would not work last spring became interested and earned ten dollars in his home garden last year. He is a large boy, leaves school this year and will take up gardening as a business.

The children of the ——— school have done excellent work. The boys and girls had been so accustomed to failure that when they can see

the results of their work they are encouraged to work industrially. Nothing you can say in advocating this work for defectives and delinquent children can be too strong.

Very sincerely yours,

LOUISE KLEIN MILLER.

A word in passing concerning the influence of the school garden upon incipient rowdies, ruffians, rogues, truants and incorrigibles. For the bravado of self-assertion, at one age merely an instinctive form of self-expression, the school garden offers a healthy rivalry among individual plot owners. Rude strength it would supplant by gentleness and consideration, bred by a better understanding of the life of flower and insect. For roguery, often mere fun-loving mischief run wild, it substitutes many enjoyable tasks for idle hands to do and brains to interest themselves in. The dominant impulse to activity is too often the downfall of such boys and girls. For these the first remedy is to "get busy" in some safe and sane way. This accounts for the frequency of reformation through the school garden and the appearance of such children as these among the regular attendants, often, indeed, among prize winners. They are found among those who do more than their own share of the community work. They like hard, active exercise. "Me for the wheelbarrow" is one small boy's slogan, and for the sake of wheeling the load he will hurry his own work and accept almost any task that precedes possession of the coveted barrow.

The ethical value of the school garden may be treated here. While it teaches a finer sense of right and wrong to children of the more fortunate classes, where gross transgressions of the moral law are less frequent, it affords, also, the best ground for teaching practical ethics and for making plain the basic reasons for honesty and truthfulness. Until a thieving child discovers the real meaning of property rights and their enhancement through the labor of acquisition or the dearness of long possession, theft is not understood. Argument is useless, punishment is a necessary evil. The joy of evading the law and the policeman and of possessing stolen goods is a lure. A child entered a garden with so strong a thieving propensity that it seemed as if his fingers unconsciously clutched at any seizable thing. After five months, the habit was broken. He was again and again reasoned with on the ground of fair play, on the sneaking cowardliness of the thing, on the treatment he would like to receive as proprietor of his own garden, and gradually it dawned upon him how the other fellows felt when goods were stolen, how the community of his boy associates and how the world regarded the thief. So also, the lie ceases to have the attraction of its brief advantage when a child feels that he is undermining

his social standing; that his untruthfulness tells against him, and that his word of honor has intrinsic worth.

Many of the advantages which school garden work possesses for abnormal children, it offers to the normal. Physical advantages are the same. Moral and ethical, also, though usually influencing more the moulding of character than the laying of its foundation stones. Yet, to all classes, the garden teaches that there is no "side-stepping" from the path of right without its consequences. In the world, a man eventually reaps as he sows and is usually estimated at about his real worth, though he may not realize it. In the outspoken world of childhood one hears the verdict and feels the force of public opinion even as in his garden plot he sees the results of his own labor or lack of it. Both are salutary.

If the garden offers a chance to the handicapped child to better himself financially, it surely does to the normal. Indeed, some school gardens where the instruction is almost solely horticultural, frankly urge the attendance of the larger children because of what they can make on their gardens. If the spirit of money-getting is too rampant, it may be directed or toned down by opening new interests. Making money is a part of the necessary business of life, and there is a right and wrong spirit in which to go about it. The garden that offers the opportunity to make it, may do much to teach a reasonable attitude toward money power and towards the wise care and use of it.

It has been shown that the school garden can increase the child's mental power. It is estimated that the mentality of the boys of a certain town increased thirty per cent. after they became interested in the steady cultivation of their gardens. The Macdonald schools of Canada report a marked increase in the percentage of children passing the higher examinations when they came from those schools that have school gardens. The increase of interest of the backward children in their studies is noticeable when work in the garden is introduced into the curriculum or when lessons in number, spelling or composition are connected in any way with their garden plots. Better care of school property, more pride in its surroundings, follow in the wake of the school garden if it be only for school ground decoration and though the part the children can have in its care is ever so small. Better order follows in the schoolroom when some of the hard suppressed activity is freed by a period of garden work or by an excursion into it to apply practically some lesson over which a class is struggling.

I trust that the gospel of school gardening is a message of good news to every child, to the normal child as well as to the abnormal, alike, to the bright and the dull, and a veritable boon to those crippled in mind or body.

THE WORCESTER CONFERENCE FOR CHILD WELFARE

By REV. AUSTIN S. GARVER

The existence of such an organization as the Worcester Conference for Child Welfare is due ultimately to the studies and investigations of child nature, that have been carried on here at Clark University during the last twenty years; and immediately to the influence of these studies on the general mind. Unseen and untraceable for the most part are the agencies by which great germinal ideas develop into institutions, but the connection is close and real; and it is appropriate that my first word should be in recognition of the debt we owe to the University under whose fostering wing these meetings are held. Had it not been for the work done and inspired here, there would be no institutions like ours to make their acknowledgments and reports.

For as a result of these scientific investigations, the child has been given a place of prominence in modern thought such as has not been known since the great Teacher long ago, for the instruction of his followers, called a little child unto him and placed him in the midst of them. We have gained a new point of view for the consideration of many questions. It was inevitable that sooner or later it should affect the whole social outlook.

The awakening of social responsibility is one of the marked features of our time. Never were people thinking so seriously of the problems which our modern society presents. And to such it has come almost like a revelation that the child was the centre of the problem, and that if its rights were recognized, its needs provided for, and its highest welfare, physical, mental and spiritual, secured, more could be done than in any other way for the common good. It was the vision of a new and hopeful way of social and religious service.

Such, as it seems to me, was the origin of the Worcester Conference for Child Welfare. It was no private enterprise, nor the project of any individual or institution. It was rather the natural, spontaneous expression of a general consciousness which was already stirred by the need of social effort, and which was now fructified by the thought that in the care of the child lay the promise of the higher well-being of all. It

needed but a suggestion, for this vague feeling to crystallize into a conviction and a purpose.

And so it came about that a company of twenty or more of the citizens of Worcester met at Dr. Hall's house last December, and resolved to form an organization for the purpose of applying these new ideas to their own community. What could be done here in Worcester for the general welfare, by focussing attention and effort on the circumstances, needs and manifestations of its young life—such was the modest and practical thought at the root of the movement. The importance of such a movement was at once recognized, and as soon as its objects were announced, nearly three hundred persons, public-spirited citizens and social workers, expressed their interest and desire to co-operate in the work. This large body of earnest, enthusiastic people constitute the advisory and sustaining membership of the conference; and to them we look for the creation of an active public sentiment so essential to the carrying out of any large plans.

The machinery of the Conference is of the simplest kind, just the necessary officers with enough of a constitution to define its aims and purpose. It is what its name declares it to be a Worcester Conference for Child Welfare. It is entirely local, composed of Worcester citizens, with the city for its field, and with the one aim of getting into close touch with the life of the child, so as to understand its conditions and provide for its needs in our city.

The beauty of the plan is that it is so simple, the difficulty of the task is that it is so varied and complex. The whole direction of the work of the Conference is in the hands of a small Executive Committee of seven members. Upon them devolves the duty of dividing the field into workable sections, of deciding what should be done, and of appointing such sub-committees as may be necessary. There must be such concentration of authority in order to escape the evils of mere good intentions on the one hand, and of over-lapping and duplication of effort on the other. Consequently six different phases of the general subject were selected for investigation, and a sub-committee was appointed to have charge of each section. Each sub-committee has from ten to twenty or more members, chosen on account of their special fitness for the work in hand. To name these committees, with a brief reference to their aims, will show better than any thing else the purpose and scope of the Conference.

There is first a Committee on Infant Health and Morality, to make a thorough investigation of the local situation, to show the appalling death rate among little children and the causes contributing thereto, to aid mothers by information

and advice in the care of children, to study the question of milk, its inspection, handling, and especially its care after it reaches the home. The Committee has made a good beginning. It is gathering materials for a report on infant mortality, has given public illustrated demonstrations in regard to clean milk, and has provided for the maintenance of clean milk stations during the summer months.

Second, a Committee on Play which has already rendered excellent service in helping to organize the Playground Association, and to raise a fund of \$10,000 to set it going. Its continuing function is to assist in the location and management of playgrounds, to see that no part of the city is overlooked, to urge the necessity of supervision and help supply it, and more than all, perhaps, to show the relation of play to normal development, and its importance in any complete scheme of education.

A third committee is to consider the problem of Dependence and Neglect, to seek out the causes as far as they are discoverable in the home, and the unwholesome conditions of city life, to study the best methods of relief, both at home and abroad, but chiefly to strengthen home ties, and advocate such constructive measures as tend to reach the source of the trouble and reduce the need of relief.

To a fourth committee is given the investigation of Juvenile Delinquency,—a subject that has wider ramifications than almost any other. Here belongs the whole question of the treatment of juvenile offenders, the work of Juvenile courts and probation officers, institutions for reform with the education given and the relations existing in them, a compilation of local statistics covering as long a period as possible, showing age, nationality, education, occupation, home influence of offenders, a study of the gang spirit, the relation of truancy to delinquency, preventive agencies, with the aim of learning how to turn this wasted and misdirected youthful energy into safe and happy channels. Truly a rich field, full of inviting opportunity.

A fifth committee, on School Hygiene, has a field less difficult to survey, but scarcely less important. The community is slowly awaking to the startling fact that a large percentage of the children in our schools suffer from physical defects, which are a hindrance in their studies and a menace to their health. How to meet this problem, difficult only because of its extent, the instruction of parents and teachers, the value of school nurses, the treatment of children who may be carriers of infectious disease, cleanliness and fresh air in school rooms, such are some of the important aspects of the question, and much has already been done especially in the way of obtaining information from other cities.

Lastly we have a Committee on Public in-door Recreations. It has in progress a survey of the theatres and moving-picture entertainments of all kinds in the city, the kind of plays presented or films used, the young people present and their habit of attendance, with conditions as to ventilation, light, also other recreational opportunities such as the dance-hall, its evils and the need it supplies. Out of the information gained should come suggestions as to a larger and more wholesome use of these popular attractions. The committee is profoundly impressed with the immense educational possibilities of the moving picture, and hopes to demonstrate its value with incidents from sacred and secular history. A great story or drama, skillfully recited, to the accompaniment of vivid moving illustration would have unrivalled teaching power, and would draw little children from their play, and old men from their chimney corner.

This brief hint will serve to show the task we have undertaken, and the beginning we have made. These six committees are the working arm of the Conference. Their strength is indicated partly by their number, as there are ninety-five actively enlisted in the work; but mainly by their quality. They are a body of picked men and women, able and earnest, the best that Worcester has to give. In their hands, we believe this great new undertaking of ours will succeed in producing unprecedented results for the good of the whole community.

We realize that we have mapped out a plan that will require more than one campaign to execute. We realize that in such a plan, education must play an important part, the slow education of the public, of parents, of ourselves, till we are all able to recognize the thing that needs to be done.

It is a slow work, but it is a magnificent work, nothing comparable to it in importance has ever been attempted in Worcester before. I doubt if anything so comprehensive, rational, and full of promise of the best things has been tried anywhere. I believe that if our plans can be thoroughly developed, we shall not only open new paths and establish new records of social service, but we shall set up new standards for the test of our civilization.

The purpose of the Conference is not to give relief, nor to take the place of the excellent societies equipped for that service. Its mission is not palliative, the alleviation of specific cases of distress, nor merely preventive, but essentially scientific and radically constructive. That is, it does not exist to lift an unfortunate person out of the gutter, or to keep him from falling in again, but to find out why the gutter is there, and to remove it, if possible, or to destroy it by the influence of nobler

attractions. Its first business is to understand the whole situation, to understand the nature and needs of child life, to obtain a knowledge of the facts down to the bottom, and there, by reasonable recommendation, and wise methods, begin to lay new foundation of a better social and civic order.

The Conference, therefore, is not another organization added to those already existing, but includes and aids and unites them all. Indeed, it is best thought of, not as an organization apart, but as the awakening city taking account of her most precious resources, and considering how to check and prevent the ruinous wastes of her most precious life. When our advisory membership increases to a thousand or five thousand, when it includes, as it must, all our citizens of goodwill and public spirit, then the voice of the Conference will be the voice of Worcester, and it will be irresistible in its plea for the rights of the child.

The few months of our existence do not furnish a long list of things accomplished. Some things have been well done, and others well and hopefully begun. But one notable result has been achieved. We have been brought into such a unity of feeling and action as was never known before. There has been no thought of sect or creed or race or party. Men and women of all shades of opinion have united in the utmost cordiality and even rivalry of good feeling, exactly as if they belonged to the same family, and were consulting about the common family interests. To attain such a result would almost be enough to justify the existence of the organization.

This of itself is a good omen, and encourages us to expect other surprises and larger measures of success in our main endeavors. If we could bring it to pass that every child in the city should be well-born and well nurtured, had ample opportunity for play and wholesome recreation, if we could throw around him such influences as would develop in him health of body, cleanness of mind and sweetness of heart, if we could but give every child a fair chance at life, surely not too much to ask or hope for, we believe we should have taken a long stride towards the earthly Paradise that every city ought to be.

So runs our dream, and we know we shall not wake tomorrow and find it true. But if we can once just understand our present condition, so understand that we can live the child's life with him, feel with his eager feeling, demand what his nature demands for its satisfaction, and so learn why he thinks and acts as he does, and who is responsible when he goes wrong, then we shall know what needs to be done and done away, to bring in the better time.

That, as I see it, is the work to which we have put our hands. We know that we have taken hold of a large problem. We have no illusions in regard to its difficulties, but we are sustained by the conviction that we hold the key to its solution. We are aware that we have entered on an untried way, but we feel safe in following the call of childhood, and we are lured by a great hope of what may be accomplished by wise patient, united endeavor, not only for the children of to-day but for the citizens of to-morrow, and for the building of the City of God which is to be.

A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN FOR CHILD WELFARE

By HENRY S. CURTIS, Ph. D.

I. FOUR RECENT METHODS OF SOCIAL ADVANCE

Whoever passes with open eye through this country to-day must be often surprised by the evidences of civic awakening in the different cities, so nearly universal as to compel the belief that a new era is upon us. Everywhere new organizations, dealing with larger or small portions of the social field, are springing into being. City and state organizations are uniting to form national or international ones, and it is becoming the fashion to be a member. The rate of advance is accelerating with each year, as any observation of the growth of the Child Labor Movement, of the Tuberculosis Movement, of the Playground Movement, or of the Boy Scout Movement will reveal. Probably less than ten per cent. of those who are giving of their time and money to civic causes to-day were thus active fifteen years ago.

This new spirit is expressing itself also in the novel and the drama, in welfare articles and news in the magazines and newspapers, in the development of social settlements, in the creation of new social funds and foundations, in the development of schools for social workers, and in the new welfare courses that are finding their way into the college curriculums.

Many of our cities are taking new heart in the struggle against the political corruption that has so often disgraced them. Civil service reform, municipal research, and the commission form of government are upon us. The bosses are waking up to find that their jobs have slipped away from them during the night. The rascals high and low have seen the handwriting on the wall and are trembling at their plunder lest it turn to ashes in their hands.

An analysis of recent movements seems to show at least four fundamental methods more or less common to and equally applicable to all, on which their success has largely depended.

The first of these methods is the survey, the study and analysis of social conditions or the physicians diagnosis of the case. The doctor of old diagnosed his case into measles or typhoid and treated this. The modern doctor has carried his analysis one step further back. Through research he has

discovered the bacillus that produced the disease and the serum that will destroy it. He is no longer fighting an unknown enemy in the dark, but applies his remedy with much greater exactness to the source of the trouble. In the same way it is impossible to deal scientifically with social ills until we have the same sort of diagnosis. Dependence or delinquency cannot be treated successfully as things in themselves any more than typhoid. They are mere phenomena, and the cure must go back to the causes. If one of the chief sources of these conditions is industrial accidents, then building orphan asylums and reformatories cannot solve the problem, it can only take care of the product. It is the same sort of wisdom that would lead physicians to spend their chief efforts in laying out cemeteries instead of treating diseases.

This method of the survey has generally been recognized as necessary in medicine and a few other fields, but it has not usually been thought of as a universal method, which should be the first step or nearly the first step in every social movement.

Yet, if the question is the establishment of playgrounds, the city needs to know what play spaces the children have at present in the dooryards and courts, in streets and alleys, in the parks and schoolyards, also what physical and moral dangers surround this play, what vicious amusements are open to children, and what are the results in evil habits and delinquency, in lack of resourcefulness, and in physical weakness, of this restriction and perversion of the play life?

If the movement is one to reduce mortality among infants, then it needs to know the infant death rate, the diseases of which the children die, and the causes of these diseases, where the death rate is highest in the city and the causes of this variation.

If the movement is for the prevention of juvenile delinquency, then it needs to know the prevalence of delinquency, its relation to race, poverty, to parks and playgrounds, to saloons and alleys, and what sort of offenses are committed in the different sections.

Every movement, of course, makes some off-hand diagnosis of its case, but it is often like the diagnosis of the country doctor a generation ago, who looked at your tongue, felt of your pulse, and then prescribed something "to make you feel better." There can be no certain remedies until the causes of the trouble are known, and despite recent progress more thorough and scientific investigation of the conditions is one of the greatest needs still.

The next step after the diagnosis is naturally the prescription to cure the disorder. It is needless to say that the prescription must follow the diagnosis point by point and seek

to remedy the ills that are actually found. This is the outline of the work to be attempted. Too often this outline or plan has been very meager and the work has consisted in building the part of the wall that is in front of your house without any plan for the general defences. This has been almost inevitable from the lack of trained leadership and the fragmentary and temporary nature of the work. The better method is well illustrated in the city planning movement; where the ideal which is coming to consciousness is undoubtedly an ideal from architecture rather than medicine. He who would erect a great building, must have a design worked out in detail before the structure is begun, if it is to be beautiful and permanent. The very tombs of the architects of some of the great cathedrals had decayed with age long before the cathedrals were completed, yet these great temples stand to-day beautiful, harmonious, and enduring because during these hundreds of years the masons have been following the old designs and embodying in stone the vision of an Angelo or a Canova. The need of a plan for a housing movement or an anti-smoke movement is no less than it is for a city. Planning is coming in with trained leadership but many social movements are still in the board shanty stage of a western mining town. They are building with the expectation of giving over their work in a few years, and there is no attempt to organize the whole or lay out work for the future, and this lack of a carefully prepared plan that is large enough to appeal to the imagination is the weakness of many local movements.

The diagnosis and the prescription or the survey and the plan. The next step is to get the city to see the vision. We are a democratic people, and before we can carry out a social reform, many must understand it and thrill to the inspiration of its appeal. The most successful method here comes from religion, it is the revival meeting. The human mind is relatively impervious to unselfishness and all the "skyeey influences" and a single presentation makes but little impression; one has to live with an ideal for a time to feel its glow. The revival meeting has been subject to many criticisms; it has been said that it works on the fears and the sympathies, and the unreasoning ones are borne along on a wave of popular enthusiasm, that it is not permanent. These criticisms are doubtless true, but no one can question its effectiveness while it lasts. It certainly warms the social atmosphere and reaches many who could not be reached by a weekly address. The criticism is rather of its cessation than of the revival itself. In some ways the revival idea is more applicable to social movements than it is to religion, because the social movement

suffers less from the relapse or waning of interest that follows. What is the successful way to organize a play movement, or a movement for social purity or any other public good? The concentrated campaign that arouses enthusiasm, and keeps it aglow, is much the most effective method. Witness the campaigns of a week or ten days by which the magnificent new Y. M. C. A.s are being built all over the country. It would be quite impossible to do this by stirring up any community once a week on the subject. Of the civic revival in the largest sense, where it stands for a general uplift movement for the entire city, Prof. Zeublin has appeared as the apostle, and Grand Rapids and a number of other cities furnish examples of what he has done. A revival seems almost necessary to carry through a city plan, but the smaller movements may well profit by the same means.

The fourth method is the method of organization and co-operation. Growing out of the revival should come a permanent organization to secure the ends purposed. In this we have the complete circle of cause and effect. The movement must begin with an elementary organization. Out of the revival should grow a much larger and stronger one. It is scarcely necessary to point out that this method of social organization for some limited, definite end has proved wonderfully effective. It scarcely seems like a recent method as we take it for granted that this is the way to work now, but it was scarcely thought of two decades ago. We have reached a stage to-day where a second form of organization becomes almost necessary, it is the federation of welfare movements in order to treat the problems of general welfare in a more harmonious and effective way. This applies more forcibly to welfare movements in the cities than to national movements, but in both it is desirable. There is a good beginning in St. Paul and Pittsburgh and Boston and in the Leagues for Rural Progress of New England, but this closer co-operation of existing movements to secure the common good is certainly one of the greatest needs of the present. Such a federation, with a strong central committee, makes possible the regeneration of the cities by dealing unitedly and effectively with the great problems that are pressing hard upon them.

II. A DEPARTMENT OF CHILD WELFARE

The public has always taken it for granted apparently that the one supreme need of the child was education; by which it has not usually meant the harmonious development of all his powers, but a training in general pretty closely limited to the three Rs. To be sure, we are to-day taking

a much wider view of this ideal and are adding manual training and domestic science, music and various other "fads and frills," but the ideal is still the training of the child's powers during four or five hours of the day in the classrooms of a school building. It is the purpose of this paper to question the adequacy of the school even under its widest and most liberal interpretation to solve the larger problems of childhood; to question also if the education we have been working for is really the thing we have wanted.

In the first place, is education in the school sense the most fundamental need of the child? Is the vital question in regard to him, how much arithmetic and geography he knows, or what sort of a child he is? If our problem is to produce the best possible type of child and citizen, who is physically strong and well, a good companion and friend, a loyal and patriotic member of his city and the state, resourceful and effective in the various relations of life, above all a person of character, then the four walls of the schoolroom are but a narrow and meager realm in which to touch life in so many places. If these objects are as important or more important than the ends that the school is now pursuing, then there must be something amiss with a system that puts all the emphasis on the others.

The contention of this paper is that what we are primarily interested in, is not instruction or education in the school sense, but child welfare, in which education is only one element and not necessarily the most important. It is scarcely needful to argue that it is welfare, not education that we are concerned with. Does education leave the children weak and anæmic or consumptive or with ideas above the work they are to do, or with incapacity to make a living, or with false standards of honor and morals. Is the education away from rather than towards welfare? Then we would all say at once, "do away with such an education."

Is there any special reason why the state is concerned about education in the school sense and is not concerned about the general problems of the welfare of the child? Originally it was held that the duty of the state to educate the child was an incidental one arising out of its duty to itself. The illiterate voter being a danger in a democracy it was considered necessary to the well being of the state that its citizens should not be illiterate. This is a minimum standard at best, but is it true that illiteracy in itself is the paramount danger to a state? The nations that have fallen in the past have fallen from moral rottenness or social unrest, not from lack of scholarly training. Education is sometimes dangerous to the state as it creates wants that cannot be satisfied and

increases the social unrest. More than an educated people a republic requires for its permanency a vigorous, contented and loyal people with some sense of solidarity and feeling for the common welfare.

It would be quite impossible to defend most of the recent additions to the school curriculum on the basis of training for the ballot, and in most states we cannot justify the education of girls at all on that basis. Without question the old idea of training the voter has become obsolete long ago, and our present idea seems to be training for life. But life is not a thing apart. No period of life exists for the sake of some following period. Each day and hour is an end in itself. The only training for life is life. The golden age is not before or after, but now. Yet the school has been made a thing by itself as a training for something on the dim horizon of youth, in which it was not yet interested. The result has been that too often the life of childhood has not been lived, and the child has come up through the period without ever having met its gnomes and fairies, visited its enchanted castles or lived the life in which his soul might expand. The school is set apart from life like a cloister and cannot prepare for it on a large way. The interest of the state in the children is essentially the cumulative interest of all the parents of the state; what it wants is their best good, and any measure is warranted that secures this. If the state can make a collective bargain for the welfare of all the children more cheaply than the individual can, then it is justified in making such a bargain.

There are at least five aspects of the child problem in which the public is primarily interested. These are:

1. Physical welfare or health and infant mortality, growth and physical development.
2. Work and play.
3. The environment in the home, street and elsewhere.
4. Dependence and Delinquency.
5. Education in school.

All of these apply to all children, except the fourth, as does this also to a considerable extent as the causes of delinquency are active in the life of every child.

Let us consider if there is any reason for selecting out of these five fundamental aspects of child life the problem of instruction and saying this is our concern; the other aspects may shift for themselves: also whether it is possible to secure the welfare of the child in this way. What are the advantages or disadvantages of dealing with these problems separately instead of with the general problem of the child?

Take the question of physical welfare. The public is only just waking up to it. For the first time it is being carefully

studied. The work covering this field is much scattered; we have lying-in hospitals, day nurseries, visiting nurses associations, associations for the prevention of infant mortality, milk commissions, physical tests for physical defects, medical examination for contagious diseases and a few new departments of school hygiene. The forces are very inadequate to deal with the problems involved. Infant mortality is unduly high, children have many physical defects and very many do not gain the full growth that nature purposed, and the number who have vigorous physical health is generally the minority. It must be clear without argument that such scattered agencies as those enumerated cannot deal harmoniously and effectively with this problem of health and development, nor secure the best results.

The boards of education have been forced largely by outside influences to take up the question of examinations for physical defects, medical inspection, school nurses, and more recently to establish in some cases departments of school hygiene, but all the time they have protested that this was not their job. They were there to furnish instruction and should not be asked to do these things. The school has been responsible for the scholastic product. It has been judged by the ability of the children to answer questions and pass examinations. Hence it has sometimes disregarded the child's health by keeping him too long at school, by furnishing him bad air, by working him too hard. It has sold him the learning at too high a price. The over emphasis of scholarship has been injurious to the child.

Take the vital questions of child labor and play. It must be evident that work, play and study cannot be considered separately if we are to have any consistent dealing with the questions involved. The factory would have all the time of the child for work, the playground wants the child for play, and the school for study. Who is to divide the child amongst these contending parties? A movement for the restriction of child labor is incomplete without a movement for playgrounds and compulsory education to go with it. The school may do the child great harm if it leaves him insufficient opportunity for work and play. The playground without the shop or the school may create a mere pleasure lover. It is impossible for any one of these agencies: the Child Labor Committee, the School, or the Playground Association to regulate its field because it lies largely beyond its reach. Who shall have charge of the playgrounds? Playgrounds are needed in the dooryards, in interior courts, on the roofs of tenements, in the streets, in the schoolyards, in orphan asylums, in reformatories, in parks, and in special tracts set aside for that

purpose. There is no city that yet has this ideal development of its play facilities, but even at present, there is no one department in a position to organize and conduct the activities now being carried on, and some half dozen different departments are conducting them in different cities, and in the same city there are often two or three different agencies in the field.

Here again the Board of Education has made a good beginning. We have the school playgrounds, and in some cases the board has charge of the park playgrounds, also, but it is evident that the play problem as a whole is not a school problem. It is a child problem, and if we had a department of children it might be rightly relegated to it, but not to the school. The school is coming to regulate child labor through issuing working papers and licenses; but it cannot supervise and, in general, its powers are too limited for efficiency.

The environment of the child is one of the largest factors in child development, but it is a much neglected one and very difficult to regulate. This must fall largely to the city government as a whole. Should it not be one of its chief, if not the chief aim, to so govern the city as to create an atmosphere in which the virtues of childhood will flourish? If this is to be done then it will be necessary for most legislation to be considered from the point of view of its effect on the children. Our forefathers believed that taxation without representation was tyranny, and waged a great war in defense of their belief. Lately there has been much agitation for woman suffrage and apparently that is coming, but the children are still unrepresented in the councils of the city and the nation. Perhaps they need it as much as any one. Whether or not women vote, their opinions enter largely into the opinions of the present electorate. They at least can ask for what they want and do not hesitate to do so. But the children are not taken into the councils of the government, and they do not realize what they need; yet there is scarcely a problem of the city in which they are not concerned. The questions of the cleaning, paving and lighting of the streets are quite as much child problems as they are traffic problems. I have little doubt that a filthy street represses the activity of the children living along it fully a mile a day. Probably a street paved with cobble stones represses their activity nearly one-half. The morality of children is closely linked with the condition of the alleys, the presence of stables, lumber yards and saloons. Children are vitally concerned with the regulations of the fire department of the police department, of the park department and every other department of the city government. Of course the common council wishes to do what is best for the children,

but it does not see the relation of these regulations to child development. It has not studied the social effect of these conditions. Then, too, the children have no spokesman, whilst the business interests with which they have to deal are familiar and oftentimes pressing in their demands.

We are trying to give moral education through the school, but the environment often educates downward faster than the school and the church and the playground can educate upward. If we are to organize the education of the child with the hope of a satisfactory result, we must not neglect the environment. To me this means that there should be some specialist in child problems in the common council and in the cabinet of the mayor, who should be there to represent the interests of the children. If any existing official were to be chosen for this work it would be the superintendent of schools, but his training is often very inadequate for this broader field.

The delinquents are the wrecks and failures of our present system. They are the problems, and need to be studied far more thoroughly than they have ever been studied thus far. We have many institutions that are called reformatories, but our juvenile courts are making strenuous efforts to keep the bad children out of them by putting them on probation, doubtless to prevent their reformation. So far as I am aware, there are almost no agencies of reform in the reformatory. It is the one place where an effective social worker would be all important. It is the place where organized play and the boy scout movement might score their greatest triumphs, but we do not hear of these movements there. If the inmates of reformatories are to be reformed, then the trouble must be first diagnosed and the remedy applied to the case almost as definitely as the doctor would prescribe for measles or diphtheria. But thus far there has been almost no attempt to do this, and there is no public agency in a position to do it.

Again, what about the dependent? What are the causes of dependency of children? Who is responsible? What can be done to prevent it? Here is a great field for study which should result in definite remedial legislation; because most orphans are so, because some one has been careless, and the state has not insisted on the full measure of protection. Meanwhile there is no large public body that is in a position to study and administer this field of dependence, and it is left to chance agencies. Too often the superintendents of orphanages are mere matrons or housekeepers, giving little more than physical care. It is the general feeling apparently that the orphan asylum is a poor place for the child. Yet Plato would put all the children in such institutions in order that

they might be better educated; and the English preparatory school, which is confessedly an excellent school, is essentially an orphan asylum for ten months of the year.

Each of these phases of the child problem suffers from its separation from the rest. From these scattered activities of different bodies it is impossible to get a unified or comprehensive dealing with the child. The school from monopolizing public support and the child's time obscures the value of the other factors that enter into the problem.

Casting aside for the moment all tradition and ideas of complacency in regard to the present, it would seem that if child welfare and not education in the school sense is the thing that is really necessary, then we ought to have not a department of schools, but a department of Child Welfare or a Department of Children, and that to the general control of this department should be relegated all of those activities in which children are concerned. It would be possible for such a department to investigate the whole field, to collect the information necessary for an intelligent dealing with the situation. It would not be impossible that it should plan all of the conditions affecting the life of the child so that there would be a probability of securing a definite result. Now the school is hoping to give education and efficiency through organizing only one of the elements that enters into the result. Both theory and practice seem to show that this is impossible.

Education has never come largely from books and it probably should come less from them than it does at present. The giving of instruction has never seemed to appeal very strongly to the American mind. We have always loved the children, but we have never been quite sure that it was necessary for them to go long to school or how much the school had to do with their success when they were successful or with their failure if they did not succeed. Education has always taken a subordinate place. We have had a department of parks, a department of police, a department of sewers, but a bureau of education. If the question involved were not the question of instruction but of child welfare, then the whole field would be raised in the minds of every one, and they would see at once that it was one of the largest topics with which the city or the nation had to deal and was worthy of a place in the cabinet of the mayor and the president.

A children's bureau would find a natural place in such a department both in the city and the nation and would be almost a corollary of it.

Education is rapidly expanding into child welfare, as any glance at such recent developments as physical examinations, medical inspection, school nurses, playgrounds, school gardens,

etc., must show, but thus far many of these changes have been forced upon the school authorities from without and they have regarded them as incidental to peculiar conditions and not as their own proper activities. Is it not time for a change of ideal?

Meanwhile, one of the greatest needs of the present is a federation of child helping agencies to secure a more harmonious and consistent dealing with the child and the many pressing problems in which his welfare is concerned. Several Children's Bureaus and Child-Welfare Conferences have sprung up during the year; but there is need of a permanent organization of this sort in every city. This would make possible: first, a careful survey of the whole field; second, a comprehensive plan for its progressive development; and third, a general civic revival on child welfare; and these three methods have been the key to much of recent progress. The expanding department of education would take over the functions of this federation as there was a popular demand for it.

VITAL STATISTICS IN THE UNITED STATES

By AMASA M. EATON

When we learn the astounding fact that the United States has no place in international reports on vital statistics, we are forced to recognize the necessity of action on our part, to remedy such a disgraceful condition. We must have accurate statistics if we would carry on scientific study in hygiene, in criminology, in penology, etc. The Census Bureau of the United States is now established upon a permanent basis and can carry on the continuous work without which such statistics cannot be obtained. It is true that the individual states take their own census half-way between the decennial census of the national government, and the example of the United States may induce the richer, larger states that are the most densely populated, to follow the example of the United States and establish permanent census bureaus of their own. But even this will not be enough. For a comparison of statistics can only be made when gathered in the different states by the state authorities according to some uniform system, and at present there is no such system. Not only is there no uniform system, there is no system at all worthy of the name, for many states have no birth registration law and many have faulty death registration laws.

All the states must have both birth and death registration laws, and they must be state laws and not national laws, because these are matters wholly within the province of the separate states. And not only must there be a uniform system of such registration of births and deaths, there must also be uniformity or conformity with the system used by the census bureau of the United States. A most important field, therefore, in which there should be such uniformity between the laws of the states and the work of the census bureau of the United States is that of vital statistics.

Mr. S. N. D. North, late Director of the Census, in "Mortality Statistics, 1900 to 1904" says:

"Under our form of government all legal provisions on the subject of mortality and vital statistics must be left to the individual and independent action of the states or cities, and while some such provisions exist in many of the states, and in most of the larger cities, they have been adopted at different

times without reference to any uniform plan. The result is that they differ widely in their requirements and in the amount of statistical data afforded by the records which they secure. A good many of them have been futile from their inception, because the proper fundamental principles were not observed."

Fortunately we have at hand a system, by the aid of which the desirable uniformity in laws relating to vital statistics including registration of births as well as deaths may be obtained. The American Bar Association has long had a Committee on Uniform State Laws, consisting of one member from each state and territory in the Union. But it proved to be impossible to secure the attendance of any large number of the members of this committee from the vast area of this great country. They recommended that each state should pass a law directing the governor to appoint Commissions on Uniform State Laws. Forty-two states and territories have done so and these Commissions meet in conference every year. They are the official representatives of their respective states. With the aid of experts they draft uniform laws and recommend them for adoption by their respective states in their annual reports, each set of Commissioners to the state appointing them. With the adoption of each particular law thus submitted and recommended the law on that subject becomes uniform in the states that enact it. In this way the Uniform Negotiable Instruments Act which was approved by the Conference of these Commissioners in 1896 has been adopted in thirty-eight states and territories and we may look forward to its ultimate adoption in all the other states. It is unnecessary to give similar details of other uniform laws thus formulated that are being gradually adopted by the states of our union. It is enough to point out what is not yet recognized generally, that we have here a new potent agency blending us into a nation, a striking instance of the adaptability of American institutions to meet the exigencies of an ever advancing civilization and the necessities of increased inter-communication in a field over which the national government has no control and in which uniformity can only be secured by comity between the states.

When public necessity demands it and an enlightened public opinion supports it, then through the agency of this Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, uniform laws on vital statistics, including registration of births as well as of deaths, can be drafted, presented to the different states and enacted.

In the annual address of the President of this Conference at the 16th Annual Conference, held in St. Paul, Minnesota,

in August, 1906, attention was called to this subject and the importance of uniform laws on vital statistics, etc. This portion of his address and a communication to him on the subject from Dr. Cressy L. Wilbur, Chief Statistician of the Section of Vital Statistics of the Census Bureau, were referred to a special committee which submitted a report on the subject to the Conference the following year. This address and the report thereon may be found in the Proceedings of these Conferences for 1906 and for 1907, separately printed and also printed in the reports for these years of the Proceedings of the American Bar Association, to which I would refer you. Through co-operation with these Commissioners much can be done in improving and making uniform the laws concerning the registration of births as well as of deaths.

THE NATIONAL CHILD CONFERENCE FOR RESEARCH AND WELFARE

Organized at the Worcester meeting, July, 1909.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I. The name of this organization shall be Child Conference for Research and Welfare.

ARTICLE II. OBJECTS. To promote child research and its application as follows:

To secure co-operation between institutions and organizations engaged in the scientific study of childhood and the societies and individuals working for child betterment.

To provide parents, teachers and others who have the responsibility of the care of children with the results of the scientific study of children.

ARTICLE III. OFFICERS. The officers of the association will be a president, 10 vice-presidents, secretary and treasurer, who shall be elected annually by the conference.

ARTICLE IV. Sec. 1. There shall be an advisory council composed of representatives of organizations working for child welfare and others.

Sec. 2. There shall be an executive committee consisting of five members, two of whom shall be the president and secretary. The executive committee shall conduct all business relating to the organization, appointing such other committees as may be necessary for the conduct of the work. The executive committee shall fill vacancies in offices or in their own numbers. The committee shall choose its own chairman. Three members shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE V. MEMBERSHIP. All persons interested in the promotion of child research and welfare are eligible to membership on payment of dues as hereinafter provided and on approval of the executive committee.

AMENDMENTS. This constitution may be amended at any annual convention by a two-thirds vote of those present at the business meeting, providing such proposed amendment has the endorsement of 10 members prior to its presentation.

BY-LAWS—CONVENTIONS. There shall be an annual convention of the conference, the place and date of such convention to be decided by the executive committee.

MEMBERSHIP DUES. The dues shall be as follows: Members \$2.00, contributing members \$5.00, sustaining members \$25.00, patrons \$100.00, benefactors \$1,000.00.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS. The officers of the conference shall be elected annually.

AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS. By-Laws may be amended by the executive committee at any time by a three-fourths vote of the members present at an executive meeting.

OFFICERS

President, G. STANLEY HALL.

Vice-Presidents:

BEN B. LINDSEY,

C. W. STILES,

MISS PATTY S. HILL,

HASTINGS H. HART,

MRS. THEODORE ROOSEVELT,

IRVING FISHER,

GIFFORD PINCHOT,

JACOB RIIS,

MRS. EMMONS BLAINE,

MRS. R. M. LAFOLLETTE.

Secretary: HENRY S. CURTIS.

Acting Treasurer: LOUIS N. WILSON.

Executive Committee:

G. STANLEY HALL, } *ex-officio*
HENRY S. CURTIS, }

MRS. FREDERIC SCHOFF,
MISS PATTY S. HILL,
C. C. CARSTENS.

Date Due

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